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On the constitution of the
church and state



George T. Strong
April 6

ON THE
CONSTITUTION OF CHURCH AND STATE
[THIRD EDITION]

LAY SERMONS
[SECOND EDITION]

BY S. T. COLERIDGE

I

ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
CHURCH AND STATE
ACCORDING TO THE IDEA
OF EACH

II

LAY SERMONS

- I. THE STATESMAN'S MANUAL
II. "BLESSED ARE YE THAT SOW BESIDE
ALL WATERS"

BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

EDITED FROM THE AUTHOR'S CORRECTED COPIES WITH NOTES
BY HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE ESQ. M. A.



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“ O that our Clergy did but know and see that their titles and glebes belong to them as officers and functionaries of the Nationalty,—as clerks, and not exclusively as theologians, and not at all as ministers of the Gospel;—but that they are likewise ministers of the Church of Christ, and that their claims and the powers of that Church are no more alienated or affected by their being at the same time the Established Clergy, than by the common coincidence of their being justices of the peace, or heirs to an estate, or stock-holders! The Romish divines placed the Church above the Scriptures: our present divines give it no place at all.

“ But Donne and his great contemporaries had not yet learnt to be afraid of announcing and enforcing the claims of the Church, distinct from, and coordinate with, the Scriptures. This is one evil consequence, though most unnecessarily so, of the union of the Church of Christ with the National Church, and of the claims of the Christian pastor and preacher with the legal and constitutional rights and revenues of the officers of the National Clerisy. Our Clergymen, in thinking of their legal rights, forget those rights of theirs which depend on no human law at all.”—*Literary Remains*, vol. iii. p. 119.

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PREFACE

TO THE CHURCH AND STATE.

A RECOLLECTION of the value set upon the following little work by its Author,* combined with a deep sense of the wisdom and importance of the positions laid down in it, will, it is hoped, be thought to justify the publication of a few preliminary remarks, designed principally to remove formal difficulties out of the path of a reader not previously acquainted with Mr. Coleridge's writings, nor conversant with the principles of his philosophy. The truth is that, although the Author's plan is well defined and the treatment strictly progressive, there is in some parts a want of detailed illustration and express connexion, which weakens the impression of the entire work on the generality of readers. "If," says Mr. Maurice, "I were addressing a student who was seeking to make up his mind on the question, without being previously biassed by the views of any particular party, I could save myself this trouble by merely referring him to the work of Mr. Coleridge, on the Idea of Church and State, published shortly

* See *Table Talk*, 2nd edit. p. 5, note.

after the passing of the Roman Catholic Bill. The hints respecting the nature of the Christian Church which are thrown out in that work are only sufficient to make us wish that the Author had developed his views more fully; but the portion of it which refers to the State seems to me in the highest degree satisfactory. When I use the word satisfactory, I do not mean that it will satisfy the wishes of any person who thinks that the epithets *teres atque rotundus* are the highest that can be applied to a scientific work; who expects an author to furnish him with a complete system which he can carry away in his memory, and, after it has received a few improvements from himself, can hawk it about to the public or to a set of admiring disciples. Men of this description would regard Mr. Coleridge's book as disorderly and fragmentary; but those who have some notion of what Butler meant when he said, that the best writer would be he who merely stated his premisses, and left his readers to work out the conclusions for themselves;—those who feel that they want just the assistance which Socrates offered to his scholars—assistance, not in providing them with thoughts, but in bringing forth into the light thoughts which they had within them before;—these will acknowledge that Mr. Coleridge has only deserted the common high way of exposition, that he might follow more closely the turnings and windings which the mind of an earnest thinker makes when it is groping after the truth to which

he wishes to conduct it. To them, therefore, the book is satisfactory by reason of those very qualities which make it alike unpleasant to the formal schoolman and to the man of the world. And, accordingly, scarcely any book, published so recently and producing so little apparent effect, has really exercised a more decided influence over the thoughts and feelings of men who ultimately rule the mass of their countrymen.”*

Under these circumstances, the following argument or summary of the fundamental and more complicated portion of the work may be serviceable to the ingenuous but less experienced reader.

I. The constitution of the State and the Church is treated according to the Idea of each. By the Idea of the State or Church is here meant that conception, which is not abstracted from any particular form or mode in which either may happen to exist at any given time, nor yet generalized from any number or succession of such forms or modes, but which is produced by a knowledge or sense of the ultimate aim of each. This idea, or sense of the ultimate aim, may exist, and powerfully influence a man's thoughts and actions, without his being able to express it in definite words, and even without his being distinctly conscious of its indwelling. A few may possess ideas in this

* *Kingdom of Christ*, vol. iii. p. 2. A work of singular originality and power.

meaning;—the generality of mankind are possessed by them. In either case an idea, so understood, is in order of thought always and of necessity contemplated as antecedent,—a mere conception, strictly defined as an abstraction or generalization from one or more particular forms or modes, is necessarily posterior,—in order of thought to the thing thus conceived. And though the idea is in its nature a prophecy, yet it must be carefully remembered that the particular form, construction, or model, best fitted to render the idea intelligible to a third person, is not necessarily—perhaps, not most commonly—the mode or form in which it actually arrives at realization. For in consequence of the imperfection of means and materials in all the works of man, a law of compensation and a principle of compromise are perpetually active; and it is the first condition of a sound philosophy of State to recognize the wide extent of the one, the necessity of the other, and the frequent occurrence of both.

II. The word State is used in two senses,—a larger, in which it comprises, and a narrower, in which it is opposed to, the National Church. A Constitution is the ideal attribute of a State in the larger sense, as a body politic having the principle of its unity within itself; and it is the law or principle which prescribes the means and conditions by and under which that unity is established and preserved. The Constitution, therefore, of this Nation comprises the idea of a Church and a

State in the narrower sense, placed in simple antithesis one to another. The unity of the State, in this latter sense, results from the equipoise and interdependence of the two great opposite interests of every such State, its Permanence and its Progression. The permanence of a State is connected with the land; its progression with the mercantile, manufacturing, distributive, and professional classes. The first class is subdivided into what our law books have called Major and Minor Barons;—both of these subdivisions, as such, being opposed to the representatives of the progressive interest of the nation, yet the latter of them drawing more nearly to the antagonist order than the former. Upon these facts the principle of the Constitution of the State, in its narrower sense, was established. The balance of permanence and progression was secured by a legislature of two Houses; the first, consisting wholly of the Major Barons or landholders; the second, of the Minor Barons or knights, as the representatives of the remaining landed community, together with the Burgesses, as representing the commercial, manufacturing, distributive, and professional classes—the latter constituting the effectual majority in number. The King, in whom the executive power was vested, was in regard to the interests of the State, in its antithetic sense, the beam of the scales.

This is the Idea of that State, not its history; it has been the standard or aim, the *Lex Legum*, which, in the very first law of State ever promul-

gated in the land, was pre-supposed as the ground of that first law.

III. But the English Constitution results from the harmonious opposition of two institutions, the State, in the narrower sense, and the Church. For as by the composition of the one provision was alike made for permanence, and progression in wealth and personal freedom; to the other was committed the only remaining interest of the State in its larger sense, that of maintaining and advancing the moral cultivation of the people themselves, without which neither of the former could continue to exist.

IV. It was common, at least to the Scandinavian, Keltic, and Gothic, with the Semitic tribes, if not universal in all the primitive races, that in taking possession of a new country, and in the division of the land into heritable estates among the individual warriors or heads of families, a Reserve should be made for the Nation itself. The sum total of these heritable portions is called the Propriety, the Reserve the Nationalty. These were constituent factors of the commonwealth; the existence of the one being the condition of the rightfulness of the other. But the wealth appropriated was not so entirely a property as not to remain, to a certain extent, national; nor was the wealth reserved so exclusively national as not to admit an individual tenure. The settlement of the Nationalty in one tribe only of the Hebrew confederacy, subservient as it was to a higher purpose,

was in itself a deviation from the idea, and a main cause of the comparatively little effect which the Levitical establishment produced on the moral and intellectual character of the Jewish people during the whole period of their existence as an independent state.

V. The Nationalty was reserved for the maintenance of a permanent class or order, the Clerisy, Clerks, Clergy, or Church of the Nation. This class comprised the learned of all denominations, the professors of all those arts and sciences, the possession and application of which constitute the civilization of a country. Theology formed only a part of the objects of the National Church. The theologians took the lead, indeed, and deservedly so;—not because they were priests, but because under the name of theology were contained the study of languages, history, logic, ethics, and a philosophy of ideas; because the science of theology itself was the root of the knowledges that civilize man, and gave unity and the circulating sap of life to all other sciences; and because, under the same name were comprised all the main aids, instruments, and materials of National Education. Accordingly, a certain smaller portion of the functionaries of the Clerisy were to remain at the fountain heads of the humanities, cultivating and enlarging the knowledge already possessed, watching over the interests of physical and moral science, and the instructors of all the remaining more numerous classes of the order. These last were to

be distributed throughout the country, so as not to leave even the smallest integral division without a resident guide, guardian, and teacher, diffusing through the whole community the knowledge indispensable for the understanding of its rights, and for the performance of the correspondent duties. But neither Christianity, nor *a fortiori*, any particular scheme of theology supposed to be deduced from it, forms any essential part of the being of a National Church, however conducive it may be to its well being. A National Church may exist, and has existed, without, because before, the institution of the Christian Church, as the Levitical Church in the Hebrew, and the Druidical in the Keltic, constitutions may prove.

VI. But two distinct functions do not necessarily imply or require two different functionaries: on the contrary, the perfection of each may require the union of both in the same person. And in the instance now in question, as great and grievous errors have arisen from confounding the functions of the National Church with those of the Church of Christ, so fearfully great and grievous will be the evils from the success of an attempt to separate them.

VII. In process of time, however, and as a natural consequence of the expansion of the mercantile and commercial order, the students and professors of those sciences and sorts of learning, the use and necessity of which were perpetual to the Nation, but only occasional to the Individuals, gra-

dually detached themselves from the National Clerisy, and passed over, as it were, to that order, with the growth and thriving condition of which their particular emoluments were found to increase in equal proportion. And hence by slow degrees the learned in the several departments of law, medicine, architecture and the like, contributed to form under the common name of Professional, an intermediate link between the national clerisy and the simple burgesses.

VIII. But this circumstance cannot alter the tenure, or annul the rights, of those who remained, and who, as members of the permanent learned class, were planted throughout the realm as the immediate agents and instruments in the work of increasing and perpetuating the civilization of the nation; and who, thus fulfilling the purposes for which the Nationalty was reserved, are entitled to remain its usufructuary trustees. The proceeds of the Nationalty might, indeed, in strictness, if it could ever be expedient, be rightfully transferred to functionaries other than such as are also ministers of the Church of Christ. But the Nationalty itself cannot, without foul wrong to the nation, be alienated from its original purposes; and those who being duly appointed thereto, exercise the functions and perform the duties attached to the Nationalty, possess a right to the same by a title to which the thunders from Mount Sinai might give greater authority, but not additional evidence.

IX. Previously to the sixteenth century, large

masses were alienated from the heritable proprieties of the realm, and confounded with the Nationalty under the common name of Church property. At the period of the Reformation a re-transfer of these took place, and rightfully so: but together with, and under pretext of, this restoration to the State of what properly belonged to it, a wholesale usurpation took place of a very large portion of that which belonged to the Church. This was a sacrilegious robbery on the Nation, and a deadly wound on the constitution of the State at large. The balance of the reserved and appropriated wealth of the Nation was deranged, and thus the former became unequal to the support of the entire burthen of popular civilization originally intended to be borne by it.* Barely enough—indeed, less than enough—was left for the effectual maintenance of that primary class of the Clerisy, which had not fallen off into separate professions, but continued to be the proper servants of the public in producing

* “ Give back to the Church what the Nation originally consecrated to its use, and it ought then to be charged with the education of the people; but half of the original revenue has been already taken by force from her, or lost to her through desuetude, legal decision, or public opinion: and are those whose very houses and parks are part and parcel of what the Nation designed for the general purposes of the Clergy, to be heard, when they argue for making the Church support, out of her diminished revenues, institutions, the intended means for maintaining which they themselves hold under the sanction of legal robbery?” *Table Talk*, Pref. p. xvi. 2nd edit.

and reproducing, in preserving, promoting and perfecting all the necessary sources and conditions of the civilization of the Nation itself.*

X. Though many things may detract from the comparative fitness of individuals, or of particular classes, for the trust and functions of the Nationality, there are only two absolute disqualifications;—allegiance to a foreign power, or the acknowledgment of any other visible head of the National Church but the King;—and compulsory celibacy, in connection with, and dependence on, a foreign and extra-national head.

XI. The legitimate objects of the power of the King and the two Houses of Parliament, as constituting the State, in its special and antithetic sense, comprise, according to the idea, all the interests and concerns of the Propriety, and rightfully those alone.

XII. The King, again, is the Head of the National Clerisy, and the supreme trustee of the Nationality; the power of which in relation to its proper objects is rightfully exercised, according to the idea, by the King and the two Houses of Convocation, and by them alone. The proper objects of this power are mentioned in No. V.

XIII. The Coronation Oath neither does, nor can, bind the conscience of the King in matters of

* See an approach to an expression of the Author's idea of the National Church thus regarded, in the Bishop of London's late Charge, Oct. 1838, p. 2, &c.

faith. But it binds him to refuse his consent (without which no change in the existing law can be effected) to any measure subverting or tending to subvert the safety and independence of the National Church, or which may expose the realm to the danger of a return of that foreign Usurper, misnamed spiritual, from which it has with so many sacrifices emancipated itself. And previously to the ceremonial act which announces the King the only lawful and sovereign head of both the Church and the State, this oath is administered to him religiously as the representative person and crowned majesty of the Nation;—religiously;—for the mind of the Nation, existing only as an idea, can act distinguishably on the ideal powers alone,—that is, on the reason and conscience.

The several other points comprised in the remainder of this work, though of great interest and importance, require neither analysis nor comment for their perfect comprehension. But it will naturally occur to the reader to consider how far the idea of the Church and of its relation to the State presented in these pages coincides with either of the two celebrated systems, those of Hooker and Warburton, which, under one shape or another, have divided the opinions of thinking persons up to the present day.

According to Hooker, the Church is one body, —the essential unity of which consists in, and

is known by, an external profession of Christianity, without regard in any respect had to the moral virtues or spiritual graces of any member of that body. “If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ: and Christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance hath in it those things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity. Such withal we deny not to be the imps and limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue such.” (E. P. III. c. i. s. 7. *Keble's* edit. vol. i. p. 431.)

With this Warburton and Coleridge in general terms agree. (*Alliance, &c.* II. c. ii. s. 2.—*Church and State*, p. 139.) And the words of the nineteenth Article, though apparently of a more restricted import, may be presumed not to mean less.

But, further, Hooker insists that the Church, existing in any particular country, and the State are one and the same society, contemplated in two different relations, “A Commonwealth we name it simply in regard of some regiment or policy under which men live; a Church for the truth of that religion which they profess. * * * When we oppose the Church, therefore, and the Commonwealth in a Christian society, we mean by the Commonwealth that society with relation unto all the public affairs thereof, only the matter of true religion excepted; by the Church, the same society

with only reference unto the matter of true religion, without any other affairs besides: when that society, which is both a Church and a Commonwealth, doth flourish in those things which belong unto it as a Commonwealth, we then say, ‘the Commonwealth doth flourish;’ when in those things which concern it as a Church, ‘the Church doth flourish;’ when in both, then ‘the Church and Commonwealth flourish together.’” (E. P. VIII. c. i. s. 5. vol. iii. p. 420—1.)

To this view Warburton, as is well known, is directly opposed. He argues that, although two societies may be so closely related to each other as to have one common *suppositum*,—that is, the same natural persons being exclusively members of each,—the societies themselves, as such, are factitious bodies, and each of them must therefore of necessity be distinct in personality and will from the other. “The artificial man, society, is much unlike the natural; who being created for several ends hath several interests to pursue, and several relations to consult, and may therefore be considered under several capacities, as a religious, a civil, and a rational animal; and yet they all make but one and the same man. But one and the same political society cannot be considered in one view, as a religious—in another, as a civil—and in another, as a literary—community. One society can be precisely but one of these communities.” (*Alliance*, &c. ii. c. v.) Accordingly Warburton insists, in opposition to Hooker, that the Puritan

premiss,—that the Church and the State are distinct and originally independent societies,—was and is the truth ; but he denies the Puritan inference, that such independency must therefore be perpetual ;—affirming the existence of an alliance between these two societies upon certain terms ; and a resulting mutual inter-dependency of one on the other ; whereby the consequence from the position of the Puritans—an *imperium in imperio*, or subjugation of the State to the Church,—and the consequence from the position of Hooker—the enslavement of the Church by the State—are equally precluded. The Church subordinates itself to the State upon faith of certain stipulations for support by the latter ; and if the State violates, or withdraws from the fulfillment of, those stipulations, the Church is thereby remitted to her original independence.*

Now so far as the distinct inter-dependency of the State and the Church is in question, Coleridge agrees with Warburton. But the peculiarity of his system, as expressly laid down in this work and incidentally mentioned in many of his other writings,—a peculiarity fruitful in the most im-

* It is worthy of remark that, if Warburton had lived in these days, and had adhered to the principles advocated by him in this treatise, he must several years ago have declared the terms of convention between the Church and State in this country violated by the latter, and the alliance of the two at an end. See his third book, and especially the second chapter. It is to be observed, also, that Warburton confounds the Christian with the Established Church as much as Hooker. See B. II. c. iii. 3.

portant consequences—is grounded on a distinction taken between the visible Church of Christ, as localized in any Christian country, and the National or Established Church of that country. *Distinction*, be it observed, not separation,—for the two ideas

—*bene conveniunt, et in una sede morantur* ;

they not only may co-exist in the same *suppositum*, but may require an identity of subject in order to the complete development of the perfections of either. According to Coleridge, then, the Christian Church is not a kingdom or realm of this world, nor a member of any such kingdom or realm ; it is not opposed to any particular State in the large or narrow sense of the word ; it is in no land national, and the national Reserve is not entrusted to its charge. It is, on the contrary, the opposite to the World only ; the counterforce to the evils and defects of States, as such, in the abstract,—asking of any particular State neither wages nor dignities, but demanding protection, that is, to be let alone.

With so much therefore of the preceding and all other theories as considers any branch of the Church of Christ, *as such*, in the character of a National Establishment, and arrogates to it, *as such*, upon any ground, worldly riches, rank or power—Coleridge is directly at variance. But we have already seen (v. VI. VII. VIII.) that there is, nevertheless, in this and in almost every other

country raised above the level of barbarism a Church, which is strictly and indefeasibly National; and in the ideal history herein presented of its origin and primary elements, its endowment, its uses, duties, ends, and objects, its relation to the State, and its present representatives, a solemn warning is recorded of the fatal consequences of either confounding it with, or separating it from, the visible Church of Christ.

The Christian Church is a public and visible community, having ministers of its own, whom the State can neither constitute nor degrade, and whose maintenance amongst Christians is as secure as the command of Christ can make it: for *so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.* (1. Cor. ix. 14.) The National Church is a public and visible community, having ministers whom the Nation, through the agency of a Constitution, hath created trustees of a reserved national fund, upon fixed terms and with defined duties, and whom, in case of breach of those terms or dereliction of those duties, the Nation, through the same agency, may discharge. “If the former be *Ecclesia*, the communion of such as are called out of the World, that is, in reference to the especial ends and purposes of that communion; the latter might more expressively have been called *Enclesia*, or an order of men chosen in and of the realm, and constituting an estate of the realm.”

Now there is no reason why the ministers of the

one Church may not also be ministers of the other : there are many reasons why they should be.

When therefore it is objected that Christ's *kingdom is not of this world*, it is admitted to be true ; but the text is shown to have no application in the way of impeachment of the titles, emoluments or authorities, of an institution which rightfully is of this world, and would not answer the end of its constitution if it ceased to belong to, and in a certain sense to sympathize with, the world. When again it is alleged that " the best service which men of power can do to Christ is without any more ceremony to sweep all and leave the Church as bare as in the day it was first born"—" that if we give God our hearts and affections, our goods are better bestowed otherwise," * the spirit and reason of that allegation are humbly submitted to God's own judgment ; but it is at the same time confidently charged in reply, that the notion of the Church, as the established instructress of the people, being improved in efficiency by the reduction of its ministers to a state bordering on mendicancy—can in its flagrant folly be alone attributed to that meanness of thought, which is at once the fruit and the punishment of minds enslaved to party and the world, and rendered indifferent to all truth by an affected toleration of every form of error. When further it is said that the Bishops of the Church of Christ have no vocation to interfere in the legisla-

* Hooker, B. V. lxxiv. 17.

tion of the country, it is granted; but with this parallel assertion, that the Prelates of a National Establishment, charged with the vast and awful task of preserving, increasing and perpetuating the moral culture of the people, have a call to be present, advise, and vote in the National Council, which can only cease to be a right when the representatives of the dearest national interest are denied a voice in the national assembly; and which is no more impaired by the fact of those Prelates sustaining in their individual persons another and still more sacred character than by their being members of a literary club or a botanical society. When, finally, it is insisted to be contrary to justice to compel those who dissent from a religious system either as to its doctrines or its forms of worship, to contribute to the maintenance of its priests and ministers, it is not denied; but it is withal maintained, that a national dedication of funds for the support of a determinate class of men, with the duty of national civilization to perform, can no more be vacated or qualified by reason of the voluntary secession of such dissenters from that religious system, because the seceders understand the character and obligation of that duty in a way of their own, than the rights of Parliament to levy taxes for the protection of our independence from foreign aggression can be affected by the dogma of rich philanthropists that war is unlawful, and to pay a shilling towards its support an offence against God.

But after all, it is urged, the funds set apart by the Nation for the support of the National Church are now in fact received by the ministers of the Church of Christ in this country! True; but, according to the idea,—and that idea involves a history and a prophecy of the truth—it is not because they are *such* ministers that they receive those funds, but because, being now the only representatives, as formerly the principal constituents, of the National Clerisy or Church, they alone have a commission to carry on the work of national cultivation on national grounds—transmuting and integrating all that the separate professions have achieved in science or art—but, with a range transcending the limits of professional views, or local or temporary interests, applying the product simple and defecated, to the strengthening and subliming of the moral life of the Nation itself.

Such a Church is a principal instrument of the divine providence in the institution and government of human society. But it is not that Church against which we know that Hell shall not prevail.

For when the Nation, fatigued with the weight of dear and glorious recollections, shall resolve to repudiate its corporate existence and character, and to resolve its mystic unity into the breathing atoms that crowd the surface of the land,—then the national and ancestral Church of England will have an end. But it cannot be destroyed before. It lies within the folds of that marvellous Consti-

tution, which patriots have out-watched the stars to develope and to protect, and is not separable from it. The time may come when it may seem fit to God that both shall perish, for ever, or for a season ;— and the sure token of that time will be, when the divorce of scientific from religious education shall have had its full work throughout the length and the breadth of the land. Then although the Church of England may fall, the Church of Christ *in* England will stand erect ; and the distinction, lost now in a common splendour, will be better seen and more poignantly felt by that darkening World to which the Christian Church must become a more conspicuous opposite.

———— οὐ γὰρ νιν θνατὰ
 φύσις ἀνέρων ἔτικτεν, οὐδὲ
 μὴν ποτε λάθα κατακοιμάσει
 μέγας ἐν ταύτῃ Θεός,
 οὐδὲ γηράσκει.

LINCOLN'S INN,
 Nov. 29, 1838.

ON THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH
AND STATE

ACCORDING TO THE IDEA OF EACH

ADVERTISEMENT.*

THE occasion of this little work will be sufficiently explained by an extract from a letter addressed by me to a friend a few years ago:—" You express your wonder that I, who have so often avowed my dislike to the introduction even of the word, religion, in any special sense, in Parliament, or from the mouth of lawyer or statesman, speaking as such; who have so earnestly contended that religion cannot take on itself the character of law without *ipso facto* ceasing to be religion, and that law could neither recognize the obligations of religion for its principles, nor become the pretended guardian and protector of the Faith, without degenerating into inquisitorial tyranny;—that I, who have avowed my belief, that if Sir Matthew Hale's doctrine,† that the Bible was a part of the law of

* To the first edition.—*Ed.*

† Hale's expression was " that Christianity is part of

the land, had been uttered by a Puritan divine instead of a Puritan judge, it would have been quoted at this day, as a specimen of Puritanical nonsense and bigotry ;—you express your wonder that I, with all these heresies on my head, should yet withstand the measure of Roman Catholic emancipation, as it is called, and join in opposing Sir Francis Burdett's intended Bill for the repeal of the disqualifying statutes ! And you conclude by asking : but is this true ?

“ My answer is : Here are two questions. To the first, namely, is it true that I am unfriendly to what you call Catholic emancipation ?—I reply ; No, the contrary is the truth. There is no inconsistency, however, in approving the thing, and yet having my doubts respecting the manner ; in desiring the same end, and yet scrupling the means proposed for its attainment. When you are called in to a consultation, you may perfectly agree with another physician respecting the existence of the malady and the expedience of its removal, and yet

the laws of England ; and therefore to reproach the Christian religion, is to speak in subversion of the law.” *The King v. Taylor*. Ventr. 293, Keble, 607. But Sir Edward Coke had many years before said that “ Christianity is part and parcel of the Common Law.”—*Ed.*

differ respecting the medicines and the method of cure. To your second question, namely, am I unfriendly to the present measure?—I shall return an answer no less explicit. Why I cannot return as brief a one, you will learn from the following pages transcribed, for the greater part, from a paper drawn up by me some years ago, at the request of a gentleman*—(that I have been permitted to call him my friend, I place among the highest honours of my life),—an old and intimate acquaintance of the late Mr. Canning's; and which paper, had it been finished before he left England, it was his intention to have laid before the late Lord Liverpool.

“ From the period of the Union with Ireland, to the present hour, I have neglected no opportunity of obtaining correct information from books and from men respecting the facts that bear on the question, whether they regard the existing state of things, or the causes and occasions of it; nor, during this time, has there been a single speech of any note, on either side, delivered, or reported as delivered, in either House of Parliament, which I have not heedfully and thoughtfully pe-

* The Right Honorable John Hookham Frere.—*Ed.*

rused, abstracting and noting down every argument that was not already on my list, which, I need not say, has for many years past had but few accessions to number. Lastly, my conclusion I have subjected, year after year, to a fresh revisal, conscious but of one influence likely to warp my judgment: and this is the pain, I might with truth add the humiliation, of differing from men whom I loved and revered, and whose superior competence to judge aright in this momentous cause I knew and delighted to know; and this aggravated by the reflection, that in receding from the Burkes, Cannings, and Lansdownes, I did not move a step nearer to the feelings and opinions of their antagonists. With this exception, it is scarcely possible, I think, to conceive an individual less under the influences of the ordinary disturbing forces of the judgment than your poor friend; or from situation, pursuits, and habits of thinking, from age, state of health and temperament, less likely to be drawn out of his course by the undercurrents of hope, or fear, of expectation or wish. But least of all, by predilection for any particular sect or party: for wherever I look, in religion or in politics, I seem to see a world of power and talent wasted on the support of half truths, too often the most mischievous, because least sus-

pected, of errors. This may result from the spirit and habit of partizanship, the supposed inseparable accompaniment of a free state, which pervades all ranks, and is carried into all subjects. But whatever may be its origin, one consequence seems to be, that every man is in a bustle, and, except under the sting of excited or alarmed self-interest, scarcely any one in earnest.”

I had collected materials for a third part under the title of “What is to be done now?”—consisting of illustrations, from the history of the English and Scottish Churches, of the consequences of the ignorance or contravention of the principles, which I have attempted to establish in the first part of this work; and of practical deductions from these principles, addressed chiefly to the English clergy. But I felt the embers glowing under the white ashes; and, on reflection, I have considered it more expedient that the contents of this volume should be altogether in strict conformity with the title; that they should be, and profess to be, no more and no other than ideas of the constitution in Church and State. And thus I may without inconsistency entreat the friendly reader to bear in mind the distinction enforced in these pages, between the exhibition of an idea, and the way of acting on

the same; and that the scheme or diagram best suited to make the idea clearly understood may be very different from the form in which it is or may be most adequately realized. And if the reasonings of this work should lead him to think that a strenuous opponent of the former attempts in Parliament may have given his support to the Bill lately passed into law without inconsistency, and without meriting the name of apostate, it may be to the improvement of his charity and good temper, and not detract a tittle from his good sense or political penetration.

PART I.

ON THE

. CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH
AND STATE,

ACCORDING TO THE IDEA OF EACH.

THERE IS A MYSTERY IN THE SOUL OF STATE,
WHICH HATH AN OPERATION MORE DIVINE
THAN OUR MERE CHRONICLERS DARE MEDDLE WITH.

(Troil. and Cress. act iv. sc. 3. altered.—*Ed.*)

ON THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH
AND STATE,

ACCORDING TO THE IDEA OF EACH.

CHAPTER I.

Prefatory remarks on the true import of the word, Idea; and what the Author means by the expression, “ according to the idea.”

THE Act lately passed for the admission of Roman Catholics into the Legislature* comes so near the mark to which my convictions and wishes have through my whole life, since earliest manhood, unwaveringly pointed, and has so agreeably disappointed my fears, that my first impulse was to suppress the pages, which I had written while the particulars of the Bill were yet unknown, in compliance with the request of an absent friend, who had expressed an anxiety “ to learn from myself the nature and grounds of my apprehension, that

* 10. G. IV. c. 7. “ An Act for the relief of His Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects.”—*Ed.*

the measure would fail to effect the object immediately intended by its authors.”

In answer to this I reply that the main ground of that apprehension is certainly much narrowed ; but as certainly not altogether removed. I refer to the securities. And, let it be understood, that in calling a certain provision hereafter specified, a security, I use the word comparatively, and mean no more, than that it has at least an equal claim to be so called, with any of those that have been hitherto proposed as such. Whether either one or the other deserve the name ; whether the thing itself is possible ; I leave undetermined. This premised, I resume my subject, and repeat that the main objection, from which my fears as to the practical results of the proposed Bill were derived, applies with nearly the same force to the Act itself ; though the fears themselves have, by the spirit and general character of the clauses, been considerably mitigated. The principle, the solemn recognition of which I deem indispensable as a security, and should be willing to receive as the only security—superseding the necessity, though possibly not the expediency, of any other, but itself by no other superseded—this principle is not formally recognized. It may perhaps be implied in one of the clauses (that which forbids the assumption of local titles by the Romish bishops*);

* See ss. 24-5-6, prohibiting under a penalty the assumption of the titles of the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical

but this implication, even if really contained in the clause, and actually intended by its framers, is not calculated to answer the ends, and utterly inadequate to supply the place, of the solemn and formal declaration which I had required, and which, with my motives and reasons for the same, it will be the object of the following pages to set forth.

But to enable the reader fully to understand, and fairly to appreciate, my arguments, I must previously state (what I at least judge to be) the true idea of a Constitution, and, likewise, of a national Church. And in giving the essential character of the latter, I shall briefly specify its distinction from the Church of Christ, and its contra-distinction from a third form, which is neither national nor Christian, but irreconcilable with, and subversive of, both. By an idea I mean (in this instance) that conception of a thing, which is not abstracted from any particular state, form, or mode, in which the thing may happen to exist at this or at that time; nor yet generalized from any number or succession of such forms or modes; but which is given by the knowledge of its ultimate aim.

Only one observation I must be allowed to add;

dignities and offices; the exhibition of the *insignia* of Romish priesthood, and the performance of any part of Romish worship or religious service, elsewhere than in the usual chapels. These enactments have been openly violated with impunity from the passing of the Relief Act to this day.
—*Ed.*

that this knowledge, or sense, may very well exist, aye, and powerfully influence a man's thoughts and actions, without his being distinctly conscious of the same, much more without his being competent to express it in definite words. This, indeed, is one of the points which distinguish ideas from conceptions, both terms being used in their strict and proper significations. The latter, that is, a conception, consists in a conscious act of the understanding, bringing any given object or impression into the same class with any number of other objects or impressions by means of some character or characters common to them all. *Concipimus, id est, capimus hoc cum illo*;—we take hold of both at once, we comprehend a thing, when we have learned to comprise it in a known class. On the other hand, it is the privilege of the few to possess an idea: of the generality of men, it might be more truly affirmed that they are possessed by it.

What is here said, will, I hope, suffice as a popular explanation. For some of my readers, however, the following definition may not, perhaps, be useless or unacceptable. That which, contemplated objectively (that is, as existing externally to the mind), we call a law; the same contemplated subjectively (that is, as existing in a subject or mind), is an idea. Hence Plato often names ideas laws; and Lord Bacon, the British Plato, describes the laws of the material universe as the ideas in

nature.* *Quod in natura naturata lex, in natura naturante idea, dicitur.* By way of illustration take the following. Every reader of Rousseau, or of Hume's Essays, will understand me when I refer to the original social contract, assumed by Rousseau, and by other and wiser men before him, as the basis of all legitimate government. Now, if this be taken as the assertion of an historical fact, or as the application of a conception, generalized from ordinary compacts between man and man, or nation and nation, to an alleged actual occurrence in the first ages of the world; namely, the formation of a first contract, in which men should have covenanted with each other to associate, or in which a multitude should have entered into a compact with a few, the one to be governed and the other to govern under certain declared conditions; I shall run little hazard at this time of day in declaring the pretended fact a pure fiction, and the conception of such a fact an idle fancy. It is at once false and foolish.† For what if an original contract had

* *Hæ autem (divinæ mentis ideæ) sunt vera signacula Creatoris super creaturas, prout in materie per lineas veras et exquisitas imprimuntur et terminantur.* Nov. Org. P. II. 124. —Ed.

† I am not indeed certain that some operatical farce, under the name of a social contract or compact, may not have been acted by the Illuminati and constitution-manufacturers at the close of the eighteenth century; a period which how far it deserved the name, so complacently affixed

actually been entered into and formally recorded? Still I cannot see what addition of moral force would be gained by the fact. The same sense of moral obligation which binds us to keep it, must have pre-existed in the same force and in relation to the same duties, impelling our ancestors to make it. For what could it do more than bind the contracting parties to act for the general good, according to their best lights and opportunities? It is evident that no specific scheme or constitution can derive any other claim to our reverence, than that which the presumption of its necessity or fitness for the general good shall give it; and which claim of course ceases, or rather is reversed, as soon as this general presumption of its utility has given place to as general a conviction of the contrary. It is true, indeed, that from duties anterior to the formation of the contract, because they arise out of the very constitution of our humanity, which supposes the social state—it is true, that in order to a rightful removal of the institution or law thus agreed on, it is required that the conviction of its inexpediency shall be as general as the presumption of its fitness was at the time of its establishment. This, the first of the two great paramount interests of the social state, that of permanence, demands; but to attribute more than

to it by contemporaries, of “this enlightened age,” may be doubted. That it was an age of enlighteners no man will deny.

this to any fundamental articles, passed into law by any assemblage of individuals, is an injustice to their successors, and a high offence against the other great interest of the social state, namely, its progressive improvement. The conception, therefore, of an original contract, is, I repeat, incapable of historic proof as a fact, and it is senseless as a theory.

But if instead of the conception or theory of an original social contract, we say the idea of an ever-originating social contract, this is so certain and so indispensable, that it constitutes the whole ground of the difference between subject and serf, between a commonwealth and a slave-plantation. And this, again, is evolved out of the yet higher idea of person in contra-distinction to thing; all social law and justice being grounded on the principle that a person can never, but by his own fault, become a thing, or, without grievous wrong, be treated as such; and the distinction consisting in this, that a thing may be used altogether and merely as the means to an end; but the person must always be included in the end: his interest must form a part of the object, a mean to which he by consent, that is, by his own act, makes himself. We plant a tree and we fell it; we breed the sheep and we shear or we kill it; in both cases wholly as means to our ends; for trees and animals are things. The wood-cutter and the hind are likewise employed as means, but on agreement, and that too an agreement of reci-

procal advantage, which includes them as well as their employer in the end; for they are persons. And the government, under which the contrary takes place, is not worthy to be called a state, if, as in the kingdom of Dahomey, it be unprogressive; or only by anticipation, where, as in Russia, it is in advance to a better and more man-worthy order of things. Now, notwithstanding the late wonderful spread of learning through the community, and though the schoolmaster and the lecturer are abroad, the hind and the woodman may, very conceivably, pass from cradle to coffin without having once contemplated this idea, so as to be conscious of the same. And there would be even an improbability in the supposition that they possessed the power of presenting this idea to the minds of others, or even to their own thoughts, verbally as a distinct proposition. But no man, who has ever listened to laborers of this rank, in any alehouse, over the Saturday night's jug of beer, discussing the injustice of the present rate of wages, and the iniquity of their being paid in part out of the parish poor-rates, will doubt for a moment that they are fully possessed by the idea.

In close, though not perhaps obvious, connection with this is the idea of moral freedom, as the ground of our proper responsibility. Speak to a young Liberal, fresh from Edinburgh or Hackney or the hospitals, of free-will as implied in free-agency, he will perhaps confess with a smile that he is a necessitarian,—proceed to assure his hearer

that the liberty of the will is an impossible conception, a contradiction in terms,* and finish by recommending a perusal of the works of Jonathan Edwards or Dr. Crombie; or as it may happen he may declare the will itself a mere delusion, a non-entity, and advise the study of Mr. Lawrence's Lectures. Converse on the same subject with a plain, single-minded, yet reflecting, neighbour, and he may probably say, (as St. Augustine had said long before him, in reply to the question, What is time?) "I know it well enough when you do not ask me." But alike with both the supposed parties, the self-complacent student, just as certainly as with our less positive neighbour; if we attend to their actions, their feelings, and even to their words, we shall be in ill luck, if ten minutes pass without having full and satisfactory proof that the idea of man's moral freedom possesses and modifies their whole practical being, in all they say, in all they feel, in all they do and are done to; even as the spirit of life, which is contained in no vessel, because it permeates all.

Just so is it with the Constitution.† Ask any

* In fact, this is one of the distinguishing characters of ideas, and marks at once the difference between an idea (a truth-power of the reason) and a conception of the understanding; namely, that the former, as expressed in words, is always, and necessarily, a contradiction in terms.—See *Aids to Reflection*. 3rd edit. p. 206.—Ed.

† I do not say, with the idea: for the constitution itself is an idea. This will sound like a paradox or a sneer to

of our politicians what is meant by the Constitution, and it is ten to one that he will give a false explanation ; as for example, that it is the body of our laws, or that it is the Bill of Rights ; or perhaps, if he have read Thomas Payne, he may say that we do not yet possess one ; and yet not an hour may have elapsed, since we heard the same individual denouncing, and possibly with good reason, this or that code of laws, the excise and revenue laws, or those for including pheasants, or those for excluding Roman Catholics, as altogether unconstitutional ; and such and such acts of Parliament as gross outrages on the Constitution. Mr. Peel, who is rather remarkable for groundless and unlucky concessions, owned that the late Act broke in on the Constitution of 1688 : whilst in 1689 a very imposing minority of the then House of Lords, with a decisive majority in the Lower House of Convocation, denounced this very Constitution of 1688, as breaking in on the English Constitution.

But a Constitution is an idea arising out of the idea of a State ; and because our whole history from Alfred onwards demonstrates the continued influence of such an idea, or ultimate aim, on the minds of our fore-fathers, in their characters and functions as public men, alike in what they

those with whom an idea is but another word for a fancy, a something unreal ; but not to those who in the ideas contemplate the most real of all realities, and of all operative powers the most actual.

resisted and in what they claimed; in the institutions and forms of polity which they established, and with regard to those, against which they more or less successfully contended; and because the result has been a progressive, though not always a direct or equable, advance in the gradual realization of the idea; and because it is actually, though even because it is an idea not adequately, represented in a correspondent scheme of means really existing; we speak, and have a right to speak, of the idea itself, as actually existing, that is, as a principle existing in the only way in which a principle can exist,—in the minds and consciences of the persons whose duties it prescribes, and whose rights it determines. In the same sense that the sciences of arithmetic and of geometry, that mind, that life itself, have reality; the Constitution has real existence, and does not the less exist in reality, because it both is, and exists as, an idea.

There is yet another ground for the affirmation of its reality; that, as the fundamental idea, it is at the same time the final criterion by which all particular frames of government must be tried: for here only can we find the great constructive principles of our representative system—(I use the term in its widest sense, in which the crown itself is included as representing the unity of the people, the true and primary sense of the word majesty);—those principles, I say, in the light of which it can alone be ascertained what are excrescences,

symptoms of distemperature, and marks of degeneration ; and what are native growths, or changes naturally attendant on the progressive development of the original germ, symptoms of immaturity perhaps, but not of disease ; or at worst, modifications of the growth by the defective or faulty, but remediless, or only gradually remediable, qualities of the soil and surrounding elements.

There are two other characters, distinguishing the class of substantive truths, or truth-powers here spoken of, that will, I trust, indemnify the reader for the delay of the two or three short sentences required for their explanation. The first is, that in distinction from the conception of a thing,—which being abstracted or generalized from one or more particular states, or modes, is necessarily posterior in order of thought to the thing thus conceived,—an idea, on the contrary, is in order of thought always and of necessity contemplated as antecedent. In the idea or principle, life, for instance, the vital functions are the result of the organization ; but this organization supposes and pre-supposes the vital principle. The bearings of the planets on the sun are determined by the ponderable matter of which they consist ; but the principle of gravity, the law in the material creation, the idea of the Creator, is pre-supposed in order to the existence, yea, to the very conception of the existence, of matter itself.

This is the first. The other distinctive mark may be most conveniently given in the form of a

caution. We should be made aware, namely, that the particular form, construction, or model, that may be best fitted to render the idea intelligible, and most effectually serve the purpose of an instructive diagram, is not necessarily the mode or form in which it actually arrives at realization. In the works both of man and of nature—in the one by the imperfection of the means and materials, in the other by the multitude and complexity of simultaneous purposes—the fact is most often otherwise. A naturalist, (in the infancy of physiology, we will suppose, and before the first attempts at comparative anatomy,)—whose knowledge had been confined exclusively to the human frame, or to that of animals similarly organized, and who by this experience had been led inductively to the idea of respiration, as the *copula* and mediator of the vascular and the nervous systems,—might, very probably, have regarded the lungs, with their appurtenances, as the only form in which this idea, or ultimate aim, was realizable. Ignorant of the functions of the *spiracula* in insects, and of the gills of fish, he would, perhaps, with great confidence degrade both to the class of non-respirants. But alike in the works of nature and the institutions of man, there is no more effectual preservative against pedantry and the positiveness of scio-ism, than to meditate on the law of compensation and the principle of compromise; and to be fully impressed with the wide extent of the one, the necessity of the other, and the frequent occurrence of both.

Having (more than sufficiently, I fear,) exercised my reader's patience with these preparatory remarks, for which the anxiety to be fully understood is my best excuse, though in a moment of less excitement they might not have been without some claim to attention for their own sake, I return to the idea which forms the present subject, the English Constitution, which an old writer calls, "*lex sacra, mater legum*, than which nothing can be proposed more certain in its grounds, more pregnant in its consequences, or that hath more harmonical reason within itself: and which is so connatural and essential to the genius and innate disposition of this nation, it being formed (silk-worm-like) as that no other law can possibly regulate it; a law not to be derived from Alured, or Alfred, or Canute, or other elder or later promulgators of particular laws, but which might say of itself,—When reason and the laws of God first came, then came I with them."

As according to an old saying, 'an ill foreknown is half disarmed,' I will here notice an inconvenience in our language, which, without a greater inconvenience, I could not avoid, in the use of the term 'State' in a double sense; a larger, in which it is equivalent to realm and includes the Church, and a narrower, in which it is distinguished *quasi per antithesin* from the Church, as in the phrase, Church and State. But the context, I trust, will in every instance prevent ambiguity.

CHAPTER II.

The Idea of a State in the larger sense of the term, introductory to the constitution of the State in the narrower sense, as it exists in this country.

A CONSTITUTION is the attribute of a State, that is, of a body politic having the principle of its unity within itself, whether by concentration of its forces, as a constitutional pure monarchy, which, however, has hitherto continued to be *ens rationale*, unknown in history;* or, with which we are alone concerned, by equipoise and interdependency; —the *lex equilibrii*, the principle prescribing the means and conditions by and under which this balance is to be established and preserved, being the constitution of the State. It is the chief of many blessings derived from the insular character and circumstances of our county, that our social institutions have formed themselves out of our proper needs and interests; that long and fierce as the birth-struggle and the growing pains have been, the antagonist powers have been of our own system,

* Spinozæ Tract. Pol. cap. vi. *De Monarchia ex rationis præscripto.*

and have been allowed to work out their final balance with less disturbance from external forces, than was possible in the continental states.

Not yet enslaved, not wholly vile,
 O Albion ! O my mother Isle !
 Thy valleys, fair as Eden's bowers,
 Glitter green with sunny showers ;
 Thy grassy uplands' gentle swells
 Echo to the bleat of flocks ;
 (Those grassy hills, those glittering dells,
 Proudly ramparted with rocks ;)
 And OCEAN mid his uproar wild
 Speaks safety to his Island-child !
 Hence for many a fearless age
 Has social freedom loved the quiet shore,
 Nor ever proud invader's rage
 Or sack'd thy towers, or stain'd thy fields with gore.*

Now, in every country of civilized men, acknowledging the rights of property, and by means of determined boundaries and common laws united into one people or nation, the two antagonist powers or opposite interests of the State, under which all other state interests are comprised, are those of permanence and of progression.†

* Ode to the Departing Year. Poet. Works, vol. i. p. 126.—*Ed.*

† Let me call attention to the essential difference between 'opposite' and 'contrary.' Opposite powers are always of the same kind, and tend to union, either by equipoise or by a common product. Thus the + and — poles of the magnet, thus positive and negative electricity, are opposites. Sweet and sour are opposites ; sweet and bitter are contra-

It will not be necessary to enumerate the several causes that combine to connect the permanence of a state with the land and the landed property. To found a family, and to convert his wealth into land, are twin thoughts, births of the same moment, in the mind of the opulent merchant, when he thinks of reposing from his labours. From the class of the *novi homines* he redeems himself by becoming the staple ring of the chain, by which the present will become connected with the past, and

ries. The feminine character is opposed to the masculine ; but the effeminate is its contrary. Even so in the present instance, the interest of permanence is opposed to that of progressiveness ; but so far from being contrary interests, they, like the magnetic forces, suppose and require each other. Even the most mobile of creatures, the serpent, makes a rest of its own body, and, drawing up its voluminous train from behind, on this *fulcrum* propels itself onward. On the other hand, it is a proverb in all languages, that (relatively to man at least) what would stand still must in fact be retrograde.

Many years ago, in conversing with a friend, I expressed my belief that in no instance had the false use of a word become current without some practical ill consequence, of far greater moment than would *primo aspectu* have been thought possible. That friend, very lately referring to this remark, assured me that not a month had passed since then, without some instance in proof of its truth having occurred in his own experience ; and added, with a smile, that he had more than once amused himself with the thought of a verbarian Attorney-General, authorized to bring informations *ex officio* against the writer or editor of any work in extensive circulation, who, after due notice issued, should persevere in misusing a word.

the test and evidence of permanency be afforded. To the same principle appertain primogeniture and hereditary titles, and the influence which these exert in accumulating large masses of property, and in counteracting the antagonist and dispersive forces, which the follies, the vices, and misfortunes of individuals can scarcely fail to supply. To this, likewise, tends the proverbial obduracy of prejudices characteristic of the humbler tillers of the soil, and their aversion even to benefits that are offered in the form of innovations. But why need I attempt to explain a fact which no thinking man will deny, and where the admission of the fact is all that my argument requires ?

On the other hand, with as little chance of contradiction, I may assert that the progression of a State in the arts and comforts of life, in the diffusion of the information and knowledge, useful or necessary for all ; in short, all advances in civilization, and the rights and privileges of citizens, are especially connected with, and derived from, the four classes, the mercantile, the manufacturing, the distributive, and the professional. To early Rome, war and conquest were the substitutes for trade and commerce. War was their trade.* As

* “ War in republican Rome was the offspring of its intense aristocracy of spirit, and stood to the state in lieu of trade. As long as there was any thing *ab extra* to conquer, the state advanced: when nothing remained but what was Roman, then, as a matter of course, civil war began.”—*Table Talk*, 2nd edit. 169.—*Ed.*

these wars became more frequent, on a larger scale, and with fewer interruptions, the liberties of the plebeians continued increasing: for even the sugar plantations of Jamaica would (in their present state, at least), present a softened picture of the hard and servile relation, in which the plebeians at one time stood to their patrician superiors.

Italy is supposed at present to maintain a larger number of inhabitants than in the days of Trajan or in the best and most prosperous of the Roman empire. With the single exception of the Ecclesiastical State, the whole country is cultivated like a garden. You may find there every gift of God—only not freedom. It is a country rich in the proudest records of liberty, illustrious with the names of heroes, statesmen, legislators, philosophers. It hath a history all alive with the virtues and crimes of hostile parties, when the glories and the struggles of ancient Greece were acted over again in the proud republics of Venice, Genoa, and Florence. The life of every eminent citizen was in constant hazard from the furious factions of his native city, and yet life had no charm out of its dear and honored walls. All the splendors of the hospitable palace, and the favor of princes, could not soothe the pining of Dante or Machiavel, exiles from their free, their beautiful Florence. But scarcely a pulse of true liberty survives. It was the profound policy of the Spanish and Austrian courts to degrade by every possible means the profession of trade; and even in Pisa and

Florence themselves to introduce the feudal pride and prejudice of less happy, less enlightened, countries. Agriculture, meanwhile, with its attendant population and plenty, was cultivated with increasing success; but from the Alps to the Straits of Messina the Italians became slaves.

I have thus divided the subjects of the State into two orders, the agricultural or possessors of land; and the mercantile, manufacturing, distributive, and professional bodies, under the common name of citizens. And I have now to add that by the nature of things common to every civilized country, at all events by the course of events in this country, the first order is subdivided into two classes, which, in imitation of our old law books, we may call the Major and Minor Barons; both these, either by their interests or by the very effect of their situation, circumstances, and the nature of their employment, vitally connected with the permanency of the State, its institutions, rights, customs, manners, privileges, and as such, opposed to the second order, the inhabitants of ports, towns, and cities, who are in like manner and from like causes more especially connected with its progression. I scarcely need say, that in a very advanced stage of civilization, the two orders of society will more and more modify and leaven each other, yet never so completely but that the distinct character will remain legible, and to use the words of the Roman Emperor, even in what is struck out the erasure will

be manifest. At all times the Franklins, or the lower of the two ranks of which the first order consists, will, in their political sympathies, draw more nearly to the antagonist order than the first rank. On these facts, which must at all times have existed, though in very different degrees of prominence or maturity, the principle of our Constitution was established. The total interests of the country, the interests of the State, were entrusted to a great Council or Parliament, composed of two Houses. The first consisted exclusively of the Major Barons, who at once stood as the guardians and sentinels of their several estates and privileges, and the representatives of the common weal. The Minor Barons, or Franklins, too numerous, and indeed individually too weak, to sit and maintain their rights in person, were to choose among the worthiest of their own body representatives, and these in such number as to form an important though minor proportion of a second House, the majority of which was formed by the representatives of the second order chosen by the cities, ports, and boroughs; which representatives ought on principle to have been elected not only by, but from among, the members of the manufacturing, mercantile, distributive, and professional classes.

These four last mentioned classes, by an arbitrary but convenient use of the phrase, I will designate by the name of the Personal Interest, as the exponent of all moveable and personal

possessions, including skill and acquired knowledge, the moral and intellectual stock in trade of the professional man and the artist, no less than the raw materials, and the means of elaborating, transporting, and distributing them.

Thus in the theory of the Constitution it was provided that even though both divisions of the Landed Interest should combine in any legislative attempt to encroach on the rights and privileges of the Personal Interest, yet the representatives of the latter forming the clear and effectual majority of the lower House, the attempt must be abortive ; the majority of votes in both Houses being indispensable in order to the presentation of a bill for the compleatory act,—that is, to make it a law of the land. By force of the same mechanism must every attack be baffled that should be made by the representatives of the minor landholders, in concert with the burgesses, on the existing rights and privileges of the peerage, and of the hereditary aristocracy, of which the peerage is the summit and the natural protector. Lastly, should the nobles join to invade the rights and franchises of the Franklins and the Yeomanry, the sympathy of interest, by which the inhabitants of cities, towns, and sea-ports are linked to the great body of their agricultural fellow-commoners, who supply their markets and form their principal customers, could not fail to secure a united and successful resistance. Nor would this affinity of interest find a slight support in the sympathy of

feeling between the burgess senators and the county representatives, as members of the same House ; and in the consciousness which the former have of the dignity conferred on them by the latter. For the notion of superior dignity will always be attached in the minds of men to that kind of property with which they have most associated the idea of permanence : and the land is the synonyme of country.

That the burgesses were not bound to elect representatives from among their own order, individuals *bona fide* belonging to one or other of the four divisions above enumerated ; that the elective franchise of the cities, towns, and ports, first invested with borough-rights, was not made conditional, and to a certain extent at least dependent, on their retaining the same comparative wealth and independence, and rendered subject to a periodical revisal and re-adjustment ; that, in consequence of these and other causes, the very weights intended for the effectual counterpoise of the great land-holders, have, in the course of events, been shifted into the opposite scale ; that they now constitute a large proportion of the political power and influence of the very class of men whose personal cupidity and whose partial views of the Landed Interest at large they were meant to keep in check ;—these things are no part of the Constitution, no essential ingredients in the idea, but apparent defects and imperfections in its realization ; which, however, we need neither regret

nor set about amending, till we have seen whether an equivalent force has not arisen to supply the deficiency;—a force great enough to have destroyed the *equilibrium*, had not such a transfer taken place previously to, or at the same time with, the operation of the new forces. Roads, canals, machinery, the press, the periodical and daily press, the might of public opinion, the consequent increasing desire of popularity among public men and functionaries of every description, and the increasing necessity of public character, as the means or condition of political influence;—I need but mention these to stand acquitted of having started a vague and naked possibility in extenuation of an evident and palpable abuse.

But whether this conjecture be well or ill grounded, the principle of the Constitution remains the same. That harmonious balance of the two great correspondent, at once supporting and counterpoising, interests of the State, its permanence, and its progression; that balance of the Landed and the Personal Interests was to be secured by a legislature of two Houses; the first consisting wholly of barons or landholders, permanent and hereditary senators; the second of the knights or minor barons, elected by, and as the representatives of, the remaining landed community, together with the burgesses, the representatives of the commercial, manufacturing, distributive, and professional classes,—the latter (the elected burgesses) constituting the major number. The King, meanwhile,

in whom the executive power is vested, it will suffice at present to consider as the beam of the constitutional scales. A more comprehensive view of the kingly office must be deferred, till the remaining problem (the idea of a national Church) has been solved.

I here again entreat the reader to bear in mind what I have before endeavoured to impress on him, that I am not giving an historical account of the legislative body; nor can I be supposed to assert that such was the earliest mode or form in which the national council was constructed. My assertion is simply this, that its formation has advanced in this direction. The line of evolution, however sinuous, has still tended to this point, sometimes with, sometimes without, not seldom, perhaps, against, the intention of the individual actors, but always as if a power, greater and better than the men themselves, had intended it for them. Nor let it be forgotten that every new growth, every power and privilege, bought or extorted, has uniformly been claimed by an antecedent right; not acknowledged as a boon conferred, but both demanded and received as what had always belonged to them, though withholden by violence and the injury of the times: and this too, in cases, where, if documents and historical records, or even consistent traditions, had been required in evidence, the monarch would have had the better of the argument. But, in truth, it was no more than a practical way of saying: "this or that is contained in the idea of

our government, and it is a consequence of the *lex, mater legum*, which, in the very first law of state ever promulgated in the land, was pre-supposed as the ground of that first law.”

Before I conclude this part of my subject, I must press on the reader's attention, that the preceding is offered only as the constitutional idea of the State. In order to correct views respecting the constitution, in the more enlarged sense of the term, namely, the constitution of the nation, we must, in addition to a grounded knowledge of the State, have the right idea of the national Church. These are two poles of the same magnet; the magnet itself, which is constituted by them, is the constitution of the nation.

CHAPTER III.

On the National Church.

THE reading of histories may dispose a man to satire; but the science of history, history studied in the light of philosophy, as the great drama of an ever unfolding Providence, has a very different effect. It infuses hope and reverential thoughts of man and his destination. It will, therefore, I trust, be no unwelcome result, if it should be made appear

that something deeper and better than priestcraft and priest-ridden ignorance was at the bottom of the phrase, Church and State, and entitled it to be the form in which so many thousands of the men of England clothed the wish for their country's weal. But many things have conspired to draw off attention from its true origin and import, and have lead us to seek the reasons for thus connecting the two words in facts and motives that lie nearer the surface. I will mention one only, because, though less obvious than many other causes that have favoured the general misconception on this point, and though its action is indirect and negative, it is by no means the least operative. The immediate effect, indeed, may be confined to the men of education. But what influences these will finally influence all. I am referring to the noticeable fact arising out of the system of instruction pursued in all our classical schools and universities, that the annals of ancient Greece, and of republican and imperial Rome, though they are, in truth, but brilliant exceptions from history generally, do yet, partly from the depth and intensity of all early impressions, and in part from the number and splendour of individual characters and particular events and exploits, so fill the imagination as almost to be,—during the period when the groundwork of our minds is principally formed, and the direction given to our modes of thinking,—what we mean by history. Hence things, of which no instance or analogy is recollected in the customs, policy, and

jurisprudence of Greece and Rome, lay little hold on our attention. Among these, I know not one more worthy of notice than the principle of the division of property, which, if not, as I however think, universal in the earliest ages, was, at all events, common to the Scandinavian, Keltic, and Gothic tribes with the Semitic, or the tribes descended from Shem.

It is not the least among the obligations which the antiquarian and the philosophic statist owe to a tribe of the last-mentioned race, the Hebrew, that in the institutes of their great legislator, who first formed them into a state or nation, they have preserved for us a practical illustration of the principle in question, which was by no means peculiar to the Hebrew people, though in their case it received a peculiar sanction.

To confound the inspiring spirit with the informing word, and both with the dictation of sentences and formal propositions; and to confine the office and purpose of inspiration to the miraculous immision or infusion of novelties, *res nusquam prius visa vel audita*,—these, alas! are the current errors of Protestants without learning, and of bigots in spite of it; but which I should have left unnoticed, but for the injurious influence which certain notions in close connexion with these errors have had on the present subject. The notion, I mean, that the Levitical institution was not only enacted by an inspired law-giver, not only a work of revealed wisdom, (which who denies?) but that it was a part of revealed religion, having its origin in this par-

ticular revelation, as a something which could not have existed otherwise; yet, on the other hand, a part of the religion that had been abolished by Christianity. Had these reasoners contented themselves with asserting that it did not belong to the Christian religion, they would have said nothing more than the truth; and for this plain reason, that it forms no part of religion at all in the Gospel sense of the word,—that is, religion as contra-distinguished from law; the spiritual as contra-distinguished from the temporal or political.

In answer to all these notions, it is enough to say that not the principle itself, but the superior wisdom with which the principle was carried into effect, the greater perfection of the machinery, forms the true distinction, the peculiar worth, of the Hebrew constitution. The principle itself was common to Goth and Kelt, or rather, I would say, to all the tribes that had not fallen off to either of the two *aphelia*, or extreme distances from the generic character of man, the wild or the barbarous state; but who remained either constituent parts or appendages of the *stirps generosa seu historica*, as a philosophic friend has named that portion of the Semitic and Japetic races which had not degenerated below the conditions of progressive civilization:—it was, I say, common to all the primitive races, that in taking possession of a new country, and in the division of the land into heritable estates among the individual warriors or heads of families, a reserve should be made for the nation itself.

The sum total of these heritable portions, appropriated each to an individual lineage, I take leave to name the Propriety; and to call the reserve above-mentioned the Nationalty; and likewise to employ the term wealth in that primary and wide sense which it retains in the term, commonwealth. In the establishment, then, of the landed proprieties, a nationalty was at the same time constituted; as a wealth not consisting of lands, but yet derivative from the land, and rightfully inseparable from the same. These, the Propriety and the Nationalty, were the two constituent factors, the opposite, but correspondent and reciprocally supporting, counterweights of the commonwealth; the existence of the one being the condition and the perfecting of the rightfulness of the other. Now as all polar forces,—that is, opposite, not contrary, powers,—are necessarily *unius generis*, homogeneous, so in the present instance each is that which it is called, relatively, by predominance of the one character or quality, not by the absolute exclusion of the other. The wealth appropriated was not so entirely a property as not to remain, to a certain extent, national; nor was the wealth reserved so exclusively national as not to admit of individual tenure. It was only necessary that the mode and origin of the tenure should be different, and, as it were, *in antithesi*. If the one be hereditary, the other must be elective; if the one be lineal, the other must be circulative.

CHAPTER IV.

Illustration of the preceding Chapter from history, and principally from that of the Hebrew Commonwealth.

IN the unfolding and exposition of any idea we naturally seek assistance and the means of illustration from the historical instance, in which it has been most nearly realized, or of which we possess the most exact and satisfactory records. Both of these recommendations are found in the formation of the Hebrew Commonwealth. But in availing ourselves of examples from history there is always danger lest that which was to assist us in attaining a clear insight into truth should be the means of disturbing or falsifying it, so that we attribute to the object what was but the effect of flaws or other accidents in the glass, through which we looked at it. To secure ourselves from this danger, we must constantly bear in mind that in the actual realization of every great idea or principle there will always exist disturbing forces, modifying the product, either from the imperfection of the agents, or from especial circumstances overruling them; or from the defect of the materials; or lastly, and which most particularly ap-

plies to the instances I have here in view, from the co-existence of some yet greater idea, some yet more important purpose, with which the former must be combined, but likewise subordinated. Nevertheless, these are no essentials of the idea, no exemplary parts in the particular construction adduced for its illustration. On the contrary, they are deviations from the idea, which we must abstract and put aside before we can make a safe and fearless use of the example.

Such, for instance, was the settlement of the nationality in one tribe, which, to the exclusion of the other eleven divisions of the Hebrew confederacy, was to be invested with its rights, and to be alone capable of discharging its duties. This was, indeed, in some measure, corrected by the institution of the *Nabim*, or Prophets, who might be of any tribe, and who formed a numerous body, uniting the functions and three-fold character of the Roman Censors, the Tribunes of the people, and the sacred college of Augurs; protectors of the nation and privileged state-moralists, whom Milton has already compared to the orators of the Greek democracies.* Still the most satisfactory

* The lines which our sage and learned poet puts in the Saviour's mouth, both from their truth and from their appositeness to the present subject, well deserve to be quoted:—

“ Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
The top of eloquence:—Statists indeed
And lovers of their country as may seem;
But herein to our prophets far beneath,

justification of this exclusive policy is to be found, I think, in the fact, that the Jewish theocracy itself was but a mean to a further and greater end; and that the effects of the policy were subordinated to an interest far more momentous than that of any single kingdom or commonwealth could be. The unfitness and insufficiency of the Jewish character for the reception and execution of the great legislator's scheme were not less important parts of the sublime purpose of Providence, in the separation of the chosen people, than their characteristic virtues. Their frequent relapses, and the never-failing return of a certain number to the national faith and customs, were alike subservient to the ultimate object, the final cause, of the Mosaic dispensation. Without pain or reluctance, therefore, I should state this provision, by which a particular lineage was made a necessary qualification for the trustees and functionaries of the reserved nationality, as the main cause of the comparatively little effect, which the Levitical establishment produced on the moral and intellectual character of the Jewish people during the whole period of their existence as an independent state.

As men divinely taught and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic, unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so."

Par. Reg. B. iv.

With this exception, however, the scheme of the Hebrew polity may be profitably used as the diagram or illustrative model of a principle which actuated the primitive races generally under similar circumstances. With this and one other exception, likewise arising out of the peculiar purpose of Providence, namely, the discouragement of trade and commerce in the Hebrew policy,—a principle so inwoven in the whole fabric, that the revolution in this respect effected by Solomon had, perhaps, no small share in the quickly succeeding dissolution of the confederacy,—it may be profitably considered even under existing circumstances.

And first let me observe that with the Keltic, Gothic, and Scandinavian, equally as with the Hebrew, tribes property by absolute right existed only in a tolerated alien; and that there was everywhere a prejudice against the occupation expressly directed to its acquirement, namely, the trafficking with the current representatives of wealth. Even in that species of possession, in which the right of the individual was the prominent relative character, the institution of the Jubilee provided against its degenerating into the merely personal; reclaimed it for the State, that is, for the line, the heritage, as one of the permanent units or integral parts, the aggregate of which constitutes the State, in that narrower and especial sense in which it has been distinguished from the nation. And to these permanent units the calculating and governing

mind of the State directs its attention, even as it is the depths, breadths, bays, and windings or reaches of a river that are the subject of the hydrographer, not the water-drops that at any one moment constitute the stream. And on this point the greatest stress should be laid; this should be deeply impressed, and carefully borne in mind, that the abiding interests, the estates, and ostensible tangible properties, not the persons as persons, are the proper subjects of the State in this sense, or of the power of the parliament or supreme council, as the representatives and plenipotentiaries of the State, that is, of the Propriety, and in distinction from the commonwealth, in which I comprise both the Propriety and the Nationalty.

And here let me further remark that the records of the Hebrew polity are rendered far less instructive as lessons of political wisdom by the disposition to regard the Jehovah in that universal and spiritual acceptance, in which we use the word as Christians. For relatively to the Jewish polity the Jehovah was their covenanted king: and if we draw any inference from the former or Christian sense of the term, it should be this;—that God is the unity of every nation; that the convictions and the will, which are one, the same, and simultaneously acting in a multitude of individual agents, are not the birth of any individual; that when the people speak loudly and unanimously, it is from their being strongly impressed by the godhead or

the demon. Only exclude the (by no means extravagant) supposition of a demoniac possession, and then *vox populi vox Dei*.* So thought Sir Philip Sidney, who in the great revolution of the Netherlands considered the universal and simultaneous adoption of the same principles as a proof of the divine presence ; and on that belief, and on that alone, grounded his assurance of its successful result. And that I may apply this to the present subject, it was in the character of the king, as the majesty or symbolic unity of the whole nation, both of the State and of the persons ; it was in the name of the king, in whom both the Propriety and the Nationalty ideally centered, and from whom, as from a fountain, they are ideally supposed to flow ; it was in the name of the king, that the proclamation throughout the land, by sound of trumpet, was made to all possessors : *The land is not yours, saith the Lord, the land is mine. To you I lent it.* The voice of the trumpets is not, indeed, heard in this country. But no less intelligibly is it declared by the spirit and history of our laws that the possession of a property, not connected with

* "I never said that the *vox populi* was of course the *vox Dei*. It may be ; but it may be, and with equal probability *a priori*, *vox Diaboli*. That the voice of ten millions of men calling for the same thing is a spirit, I believe ; but whether that be a spirit of Heaven or Hell, I can only know by trying the thing called for by the prescript of reason and God's will." *Table Talk*, 2nd edit. p. 163.—*Ed.*

especial duties, a property not fiduciary or official, but arbitrary and unconditional, was in the sight of our forefathers the brand of a Jew and an alien ; not the distinction, nor the right, nor the honour, of an English baron or gentleman.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Church of England, or National Clergy, according to the Constitution ; its characteristic ends, purposes and functions ; and of the persons comprehended under the Clergy, or the functionaries of the National Church.

AFTER these introductory preparations, I can have no difficulty in setting forth the right idea of a national Church as in the language of Queen Elizabeth the third great venerable estate of the realm ; the first being the estate of the land-owners or possessors of fixed property, consisting of the two classes of the Barons and the Franklins ; and the second comprising the merchants, the manufacturers, free artizans, and the distributive class. To comprehend, therefore, the true character of this third estate, in which the reserved Nationalty was vested, we must first ascertain the end or national purpose, for which such reservation was made.

Now, as in the first estate the permanency of the nation was provided for; and in the second estate its progressiveness and personal freedom; while in the king the cohesion by interdependence, and the unity of the country, were established; there remains for the third estate only that interest which is the ground, the necessary antecedent condition, of both the former. These depend on a continuing and progressive civilization. But civilization is itself but a mixed good, if not far more a corrupting influence, the hectic of disease, not the bloom of health, and a nation so distinguished more fitly to be called a varnished than a polished people, where this civilization is not grounded in cultivation, in the harmonious development of those qualities and faculties that characterize our humanity. We must be men in order to be citizens.

The Nationalty, therefore, was reserved for the support and maintenance of a permanent class or order with the following duties. A certain smaller number were to remain at the fountain heads of the humanities, in cultivating and enlarging the knowledge already possessed, and in watching over the interests of physical and moral science; being, likewise, the instructors of such as constituted, or were to constitute, the remaining more numerous classes of the order. The members of this latter and far more numerous body were to be distributed throughout the country, so as not to leave even the smallest integral part or division

without a resident guide, guardian, and instructor ; the objects and final intention of the whole order being these—to preserve the stores and to guard the treasures of past civilization, and thus to bind the present with the past ; to perfect and add to the same, and thus to connect the present with the future ; but especially to diffuse through the whole community and to every native entitled to its laws and rights that quantity and quality of knowledge which was indispensable both for the understanding of those rights, and for the performance of the duties correspondent : finally, to secure for the nation, if not a superiority over the neighbouring states, yet an equality at least, in that character of general civilization, which equally with, or rather more than, fleets, armies, and revenue, forms the ground of its defensive and offensive power. The object of the two former estates of the realm, which conjointly form the State, was to reconcile the interests of permanence with that of progression—law with liberty. The object of the national Church, the third remaining estate of the realm, was to secure and improve that civilization, without which the nation could be neither permanent nor progressive.

That, in all ages, individuals who have directed their meditations and their studies to the nobler characters of our nature, to the cultivation of those powers and instincts which constitute the man, at least separate him from the animal, and distinguish the nobler from the animal part of his own being, will be led by the supernatural in themselves to the

contemplation of a power which is likewise super-human ; that science, and especially moral science, will lead to religion, and remain blended with it,—this, I say, will in all ages be the course of things. That in the earlier ages, and in the dawn of civility, there will be a twilight in which science and religion give light, but a light refracted through the dense and the dark, a superstition ;—this is what we learn from history, and what philosophy would have taught us to expect. But I affirm that in the spiritual purpose of the word, and as understood in reference to a future state, and to the abiding essential interest of the individual as a person, and not as the citizen, neighbour, or subject, religion may be an indispensable ally, but is not the essential constitutive end, of that national institute, which is unfortunately, at least improperly, styled the Church ; a name which in its best sense is exclusively appropriate to the Church of Christ. If this latter be *ecclesia*, the communion of such as are called out of the world, that is, in reference to the especial ends and purposes of that communion ; this other might more expressively have been entitled *enclisia*, or an order of men chosen in and of the realm, and constituting an estate of that realm. And in fact, such was the original and proper sense of the more appropriately named clergy. It comprehended the learned of all names, and the clerk was the synonyme of the man of learning. Nor can any fact more strikingly illustrate the conviction entertained by our ancestors

respecting the intimate connexion of this clergy with the peace and weal of the nation, than the privilege formerly recognized by our laws, in the well-known phrase, "benefit of clergy."

Deeply do I feel, for clearly do I see, the importance of my theme. And had I equal confidence in my ability to awaken the same interest in the minds of others, I should dismiss as affronting to my readers all apprehension of being charged with prolixity, while I am labouring to compress in two or three brief chapters the principal sides and aspects of a subject so large and multilateral as to require a volume for its full exposition;—with what success will be seen in what follows, commencing with the Churchmen, or (a far apter and less objectionable designation,) the national Clerisy.

The Clerisy of the nation, or national Church, in its primary acceptation and original intention, comprehended the learned of all denominations, the sages and professors of the law and jurisprudence, of medicine and physiology, of music, of military and civil architecture, of the physical sciences, with the mathematical as the common organ of the preceding; in short, all the so called liberal arts and sciences, the possession and application of which constitute the civilization of a country, as well as the theological. The last was, indeed, placed at the head of all; and of good right did it claim the precedence. But why? Because under the name of theology or divinity

were contained the interpretation of languages, the conservation and tradition of past events, the momentous epochs and revolutions of the race and nation, the continuation of the records, logic, ethics, and the determination of ethical science, in application to the rights and duties of men in all their various relations, social and civil ; and lastly, the ground-knowledge, the *prima scientia* as it was named,—philosophy, or the doctrine and discipline of ideas.*

Theology formed only a part of the objects, the

* That is, of knowledges immediate, yet real, and herein distinguished in kind from logical and mathematical truths, which express not realities, but only the necessary forms of conceiving and perceiving, and are therefore named the formal or abstract sciences. Ideas, on the other hand, or the truths of philosophy, properly so called, correspond to substantial beings, to objects the actual subsistence of which is implied in their idea, though only by the idea revealable. To adopt the language of the great philosophic Apostle, they are *spiritual realities that can only spiritually be discerned*, and the inherent aptitude and moral preconfiguration to which constitutes what we mean by ideas, and by the presence of ideal truth and of ideal power, in the human being. They, in fact, constitute his humanity. For try to conceive a man without the ideas of God, eternity, freedom, will, absolute truth, of the good, the true, the beautiful, the infinite. An animal endowed with a memory of appearances and of facts might remain. But the man will have vanished, and you have instead a creature, *more subtle than any beast of the field*, but likewise *cursed above every beast of the field ; upon the belly must it go and dust must it eat all the days of its life*. But I recal myself from a train of thoughts little likely to find favour in this age of sense and selfishness.

theologians formed only a portion of the clerks or clergy, of the national Church. The theological order had precedence indeed, and deservedly; but not because its members were priests, whose office was to conciliate the invisible powers, and to superintend the interests that survive the grave; nor as being exclusively, or even principally, sacerdotal or templar, which, when it did occur, is to be considered as an accident of the age, a mis-growth of ignorance and oppression, a falsification of the constitutive principle, not a constituent part of the same. No, the theologians took the lead, because the science of theology was the root and the trunk of the knowledges that civilized man, because it gave unity and the circulating sap of life to all other sciences, by virtue of which alone they could be contemplated as forming, collectively, the living tree of knowledge. It had the precedence because, under the name theology, were comprised all the main aids, instruments, and materials of national education, the *nisus formativus* of the body politic, the shaping and informing spirit, which, educating or eliciting the latent man in all the natives of the soil, trains them up to be citizens of the country, free subjects of the realm. And lastly, because to divinity belong those fundamental truths, which are the common ground-work of our civil and our religious duties, not less indispensable to a right view of our temporal concerns, than to a rational faith respecting our immortal well-being. Not

without celestial observations can even terrestrial charts be accurately constructed. And of especial importance is it to the objects here contemplated, that only by the vital warmth diffused by these truths throughout the many, and by the guiding light from the philosophy, which is the basis of divinity, possessed by the few, can either the community or its rulers fully comprehend, or rightly appreciate, the permanent distinction and the occasional contrast between cultivation and civilization; or be made to understand this most valuable of the lessons taught by history, and exemplified alike in her oldest and her most recent records—that a nation can never be a too cultivated, but may easily become an over-civilized, race.

CHAPTER VI.

Secessions or offsets from the National Clerisy. Usurpations and abuses previous to the Reformation. Henry VIII. What he might and should have done. The main end and final cause of the Nationalty; and the duties, which the State may demand of the National Clerisy. A question, and the answer to it.

As a natural consequence of the full development and expansion of the mercantile and commercial order, which in the earlier epochs of the constitu-

tion only existed, as it were, potentially and in the bud ; the students and possessors of those sciences, and those sorts of learning, the use and necessity of which were indeed constant and perpetual to the nation, but only accidental and occasional to individuals, gradually detached themselves from the Nationalty and the national clergy, and passed to the order, with the growth and thriving condition of which their emoluments were found to increase in equal proportion. Rather, perhaps, it should be said that under the common name of professional, the learned in the departments of law, medicine, and the like, formed an intermediate link between the established clergy and the burghesses.

This circumstance, however, can in no way affect the principle, nor alter the tenure, nor annul the rights, of those who remained, and who, as members of the permanent learned class, were planted throughout the realm, each in his appointed place, as the immediate agents and instruments in the great and indispensable work of perpetuating, promoting, and increasing the civilization of the nation, and who thus fulfilling the purposes for which the determinate portion of the total wealth from the land had been reserved, are entitled to remain its trustees and usufructuary proprietors. But I do not assert that the proceeds from the Nationalty cannot be rightfully vested, except in what we now mean by clergymen and the established clergy. I have every where im-

plied the contrary. But I do assert, that the Nationalty cannot rightfully, and that without foul wrong to the nation it never has been, alienated from its original purposes. I assert that those who, being duly elected and appointed thereto, exercise the functions, and perform the duties, attached to the Nationalty possess collectively an inalienable, indefeasible, title to the same; and this by a *jus divinum*, to which the thunders from Mount Sinai might give additional authority, but not additional evidence.

COROLLARY.—During the dark times, when the *incubus* of superstition lay heavy across the breast of the living and the dying; and when all the familiar tricky spirits in the service of an alien, self-expatriated and anti-national priesthood were at work in all forms and in all directions to aggrandize and enrich a *kingdom of this world*; large masses were alienated from the heritable properties of the realm, and confounded with the Nationalty under the common name of Church property. Had every rood, every pepper-corn, every stone, brick, and beam been re-transferred and made heritable at the Reformation, no right would have been invaded, no principle of justice violated. What the State by law—that is, by the collective will of its functionaries at any one time assembled—can do or suffer to be done; that the State by law can undo or inhibit. And in principle, such bequests and donations were vicious *ab initio*, implying in the donor an absolute property

in land, unknown to the constitution of the realm, and in defeasance of that immutable reason which, in the name of the nation and the national majesty, proclaims :—“ The land is not yours ; it was vested in your lineage in trust for the nation.” And though, in change of times and circumstances, the interest of progression, with the means and motives for the same—hope, industry, enterprise—may render it the wisdom of the State to facilitate the transfer from line to line, still it must be within the same scale and with preservation of the balance. The most honest of our English historians, and with no superior in industry and research, Mr. Sharon Turner, has labored successfully in detaching from the portrait of our first Protestant king the layers of soot and blood, with which pseudo-Catholic hate and pseudo-Protestant candour had coated it. But the name of Henry VIII. would have outshone that of Alfred, and with a splendor which not even the ominous shadow of his declining life would have eclipsed, had he retained the will and possessed the power of effecting, what in part he promised and proposed to do ; that is, if he had availed himself of the wealth and landed masses that had been unconstitutionally alienated from the State, namely, transferred from the scale of heritable lands and revenues, to purchase and win back whatever had been alienated from the opposite scale of the Nationalty ;—wrongfully alienated ; for it was a possession, in which every free subject in the nation has a living interest, a

permanent, and likewise a possible personal and reversionary, interest ;—sacrilegiously alienated ; for it had been consecrated τῷ θεῷ οἰκείῳ, to the potential divinity in every man, which is the ground and condition of his civil existence, that without which a man can be neither free nor obliged, and by which alone, therefore, he is capable of being a free subject or a citizen : and if, I say, having thus righted the balance on both sides, Henry had then directed the Nationalty to its true national purposes, (in order to which, however, a different division and sub-division of the kingdom must have superseded the present barbarism, which forms an obstacle to the improvement of the country, of much greater magnitude than men are generally aware) ; and the Nationalty had been distributed in proportionate channels to the maintenance ;—1, of the universities and great schools of liberal learning ;—2, of a pastor, presbyter, or parson* in every parish ;—3, of a school-

* *Persona κατ' ἐξοχήν* ; *persona exemplaris* ; the representative and exemplar of the personal character of the community or parish ; of their duties and rights, of their hopes, privileges and requisite qualifications, as moral persons, and not merely living things. But this the pastoral clergy cannot be other than imperfectly ; they cannot be that which it is the paramount end and object of their establishment and distribution throughout the country that they should be—each in his sphere the germ and *nucleus* of the progressive civilization—unless they are in the rule married men and heads of families. This, however, is adduced only as an accessory to the great principle stated in a following page,

master in every parish, who in due time, and under condition of a faithful performance of his arduous duties, should succeed to the pastorate; so that both should be labourers in different compartments of the same field, workmen engaged in different stages of the same process, with such difference of rank, as might be suggested in the names pastor and sub-pastor, or as now exists between rector and curate, elder and deacon. Both alike, I say, being members and ministers of the national Clerisy or Church, working to the same end, and determined in the choice of their means and the direction of their labours by one and the same object—namely, the production and reproduction, the preservation, continuance, and perfection, of the necessary sources and conditions of national civilization; this being itself an indispensable condition of national safety, power and welfare, the strongest security and the surest provision, both for the permanence and the progressive advance of whatever as laws, institutions, tenures, rights, privileges, freedoms, obligations, and the like, constitutes the public weal:—these parochial clerks being the great majority of the national clergy, the comparatively small remainder being principally * *in ordine ad hos, Cleri doctores ut Clerus populi.*

as an instance of its beneficial consequences, not as the grounds of its validity.

* Considered, I mean, in their national relations, and in that which forms their ordinary, their most conspicuous

I may be allowed, therefore, to express the final cause of the whole by the office and purpose of the greater part ; and this is, to form and train up the people of the country to be obedient, free, useful, organizable subjects, citizens, and patriots, living to the benefit of the State, and prepared to die for its defence. The proper object and end of the national Church is civilization with freedom ; and the duty of its ministers, could they be contemplated merely and exclusively as officaries of the national Church, would be fulfilled in the communication of that degree and kind of knowledge to all, the possession of which is necessary for all in order to their civility. By civility I mean all the qualities essential to a citizen, and devoid of which no people or class of the people can be calculated on by the rulers and leaders of the State for the conservation or promotion of its essential interests.

It follows, therefore, that in regard to the grounds and principles of action and conduct, the State has a right to demand of the national Church that its instructions should be fitted to diffuse throughout the people legality, that is, the obligations of a well calculated self-interest, under the conditions of a common interest determined by common laws.

purpose and utility ; for God forbid, I should deny or forget that the sciences, and not only the sciences both abstract and experimental, but the *literæ humaniores*, the products of genial power, of whatever name, have an immediate and positive value even in their bearings on the national interests.

At least, whatever of higher origin and nobler and wider aim the ministers of the national Church, in some other capacity, and in the performance of other duties, might labour to implant and cultivate in the minds and hearts of their congregations and seminaries, should include the practical consequences of the legality above mentioned. The State requires that the basin should be kept full, and that the stream which supplies the hamlet and turns the mill, and waters the meadow-fields, should be fed and kept flowing. If this be done the State is content, indifferent for the rest, whether the basin be filled by the spring in its first ascent, and rising but a hand's-breadth above the bed; or whether drawn from a more elevated source, shooting aloft in a stately column, that reflects the light of heaven from its shaft, and bears the *Iris, cæli decus, promissumque Jovis lucidum* on its spray, it fills the basin in its descent.

“ In what relation then do you place Christianity to the national Church?” Though unwilling to anticipate what belongs to a part of my subject yet to come, namely, the idea of the Catholic or Christian Church, I am still more averse to leave this question, even for a moment, unanswered. And this is my answer.

In relation to the national Church, Christianity, or the Church of Christ, is a blessed accident,* a providential boon, a grace of God, a mighty and

* Let not the religious reader be offended with this phrase. I mean only that Christianity is an aid and instrument

faithful friend, the envoy indeed and liege subject of another State, but which can neither administer the laws nor promote the ends of this other State, which is not of the world, without advantage, direct and indirect, to the true interests of the States, the aggregate of which is what we mean by the world, that is, the civilized world. As the olive tree is said in its growth to fertilize the surrounding soil, to invigorate the roots of the vines in its immediate neighbourhood, and to improve the strength and flavour of the wines; such is the relation of the Christian and the national Church. But as the olive is not the same plant with the vine, or with the elm or poplar, (that is, the State) with which the vine is wedded; and as the vine with its prop may exist, though in less perfection, without the olive, or previously to its implantation;—even so is Christianity, and *a fortiori* any particular scheme of theology derived and supposed by its partizans to be deduced from Christianity, no essential part of the being of the national Church, however conducive or even indispensable it may be to its well being. And even so a national Church might exist, and has existed, without, because before the institution of, the Christian Church;—as the Levitical Church in the Hebrew constitution, and the Druidical in the Keltic, would suffice to prove.

which no State or realm could have produced out of its own elements, which no State had a right to expect. It was, most awefully, a GOD-SEND!

But here I earnestly entreat that two things may be remembered—first, that it is my object to present the Idea of a national Church, as the only safe criterion by which the judgment can decide on the existing state of things ; for when we are in full and clear possession of the ultimate aim of an institution, it is comparatively easy to ascertain in what respects this aim has been attained in other ways arising out of the growth of the nation, and the gradual and successive expansion of its germs ; in what respects the aim has been frustrated by errors and diseases in the body politic ; and in what respects the existing institution still answers the original purpose, and continues to be a mean to necessary or most important ends, for which no adequate substitute can be found. First, I say, let it be borne in mind that my object has been to present the idea of a national Church, not the history of the Church established in this nation. Secondly, that two distinct functions do not necessarily imply or require two different functionaries : nay, the perfection of each may require the union of both in the same person. And in the instance now in question, great and grievous errors have arisen from confounding the functions ; and fearfully great and grievous will be the evils from the success of an attempt to separate them—an attempt long and passionately pursued, in many forms, and through many various channels, by a numerous party which has already the ascendancy in the State ; and which, unless far other minds and far other principles

than those which the opponents of this party have hitherto allied with their cause, are called into action, will obtain the ascendancy in the nation.

I have already said that the subjects, which lie right and left of my road, or even jut into it, are so many and so important that I offer these pages but as a catalogue of texts and theses, which will have answered their purpose if they excite a certain class of readers to desire or to supply the commentary. But there will not be wanting among my readers men who are no strangers to the ways in which my thoughts travel: and the jointless sentences that make up the following chapter or inventory of regrets and apprehensions will suffice to possess them of the chief points that press on my mind.

The commanding knowledge, the power of truth, given or obtained by contemplating the subject in the fontal mirror of the idea, is in Scripture ordinarily expressed by *vision*: and no dissimilar gift, if not rather in its essential characters the same, does a great living poet speak of, as

The vision and the faculty divine.

Indeed of the many political ground-truths contained in the Old Testament, I cannot recall one more worthy to be selected as the moral and *l'envoy* of a Universal History, than the text in Proverbs,* *Where no vision is, the people perisheth.*

* xxix. 18.

It is now thirty years since the diversity of reason and the understanding, of an idea and a conception, and the practical importance of distinguishing the one from the other, were first made evident to me. And scarcely a month has passed during this long interval in which either books, or conversation, or the experience of life, have not supplied or suggested some fresh proof and instance of the mischiefs and mistakes derived from that ignorance of this truth, which I have elsewhere called the queen-bee in the hive of error.

Well and truly has the understanding been defined—*facultas mediata et mediorum*—the faculty of means to medial ends, that is, to such purposes or ends as are themselves but means to some ulterior end.

My eye at this moment rests on a volume newly read by me, containing a well-written history of the inventions, discoveries, public improvements, docks, rail-ways, canals, and the like, for about the same period, in England and Scotland. I closed it under the strongest impressions of awe, and admiration akin to wonder. We live, I exclaimed, under the dynasty of the understanding: and this is its golden age.

It is the faculty of means to medial ends. With these the age, this favoured land, teems: they spring up, the armed host,—*seges clypeata*—from the serpent's teeth sown by Cadmus:—

———— *mortalia semina, dentes.*

In every direction they advance, conquering and

to conquer. Sea and land, rock, mountain, lake and moor, yea nature and all her elements, sink before them, or yield themselves captive! But the ultimate ends? Where shall I seek for information concerning these? By what name shall I seek for the historiographer of reason? Where shall I find the annals of her recent campaigns? the records of her conquests? In the facts disclosed by the Mendicity Society? In the reports on the increase of crimes, commitments? In the proceedings of the Police? Or in the accumulating volumes on the horrors and perils of population?

O voice, once heard
 Delightfully, increase and multiply!
 Now death to hear! For what can *we* increase
 Or multiply,* *but woe, crime, penury.*

Alas! for a certain class, the following chapter will, I fear, but too vividly shew *the burden of the valley of vision*,—even the burden upon the crowned isle, *whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth;—who stretcheth out her hand over the sea,—and she is the mart of nations!*†

* P. L. x. 729.—*Ed.*

† Isaiah, xxii. xxiii.

CHAPTER VII.

Regrets and Apprehensions.

THE National Church was deemed in the dark age of Queen Elizabeth, in the unenlightened times of Burleigh, Hooker, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Lord Bacon, a great venerable estate of the realm; but now by all the intellect of the kingdom it has been determined to be one of the many theological sects or communities established in the realm; yet distinguished from the rest by having its priesthood endowed, *durante bene placito*, by favour of the Legislature, that is, of the majority, for the time being, of the two Houses of Parliament. The Church being thus reduced to a religion, religion *in genere* is consequently separated from the Church, and made a subject of Parliamentary determination, independently of this Church. The poor are withdrawn from the discipline of the Church. The education of the people is detached from the ministry of the Church. Religion becomes a noun of multitude, or *nomen collectivum*, expressing the aggregate of all the different groups of notions and ceremonies connected with the invisible and supernatural. On the plausible (and in this sense of the word unanswerable) pretext of the multitude and variety of religions, and for the suppres-

sion of bigotry and negative persecution, national education is to be finally sundered from all religion, but speedily and decisively emancipated from the superintendence of the national Clergy. Education is to be reformed, and defined as synonymous with instruction. The axiom of education so defined is—knowledge being power, those attainments, which give a man the power of doing what he wishes in order to obtain what he desires, are alone to be considered as knowledge, or to be admitted into the scheme of national education. The subjects to be taught in the national schools are to be, reading, writing, arithmetic, the mechanic arts, elements and results of physical science, but to be taught, as much as possible, empirically. For all knowledge being derived from the senses, the closer men are kept to the fountain head, the more knowing they must become.

Popular ethics consist of a digest of the criminal laws, and the evidence requisite for conviction under the same: lectures on diet, on digestion, on infection, and the nature and effects of a specific *virus* incidental to and communicable by living bodies in the intercourse of society. And note, that in order to balance the interests of individuals and the interests of the State, the dietetic and peptic text books are to be under the censorship of the Board of Excise.

Then we have game laws, corn laws, cotton factories, Spitalfields, the tillers of the land paid by poor rates, and the remainder of the population

mechanized into engines for the manufactory of new rich men ;—yea, the machinery of the wealth of the nation made up of the wretchedness, disease and depravity of those who should constitute the strength of the nation ! Disease, I say, and vice, while the wheels are in full motion ; but at the first stop the magic wealth-machine is converted into an intolerable weight of pauperism. But this partakes of history. The head and neck of the huge serpent are out of the den : the voluminous train is to come. What next ? May I not whisper as a fear, what senators have promised to demand as a right ? Yes ! the next in my filial bodings is spoliation ;—spoliation of the Nationalty, half thereof to be distributed among the land-owners, and the other half among the stock-brokers, and stock-owners, who are to receive it in lieu of the interest formerly due to them.

But enough. I will ask only one question. Has the national welfare, have the weal and happiness of the people, advanced with the increase of the circumstantial prosperity ? Is the increasing number of wealthy individuals that which ought to be understood by the wealth of the nation ? In answer to this, permit me to annex the following chapter of contents of the moral history of the last 130 years.

A. A declarative act respecting certain parts of the Constitution, with provisions against further violation of the same, erroneously intituled, The Revolution of 1688.

B. The mechanico-corpuscular theory raised to the title of the mechanic philosophy, and espoused as a revolution in philosophy, by the actors and partizans of the (so called) Revolution in the State.

C. Result illustrated, in the remarkable contrast between the acceptation of the word, idea, before the Restoration, and the present use of the same word. Before 1660, the magnificent Son of Cosmo was wont to discourse with Ficini, Politian and the princely Mirandula on the ideas of will, God, freedom. Sir Philip Sidney, the star of serenest brilliance in the glorious constellation of Elizabeth's court, communed with Spenser on the idea of the beautiful; and the younger Algernon—soldier, patriot, and statesman—with Harrington, Milton, and Nevil on the idea of the State: and in what sense it may be more truly affirmed, that the People, that is, the component particles of the body politic, at any moment existing as such, are in order to the State, than that the State exists for the sake of the People.

As to the present use of the word.

Dr. Holofernes, in a lecture on metaphysics, delivered at one of the Mechanics' Institutions, explodes all ideas but those of sensation; and his friend, Deputy Costard, has no idea of a better flavored haunch of venison than he dined off at the London Tavern last week. He admits, (for the Deputy has travelled) that the French have an excellent idea of cooking in general; but holds

that their most accomplished *maîtres de cuisine* have no more idea of dressing a turtle than the Parisian *gourmands* themselves have any real idea of the true taste and colour of the fat.

D. Consequences exemplified. A state of nature, or the Ouran Outang theology of the origin of the human race, substituted for the first ten chapters of the Book of Genesis; rights of nature for the duties and privileges of citizens; idealess facts, misnamed proofs from history, grounds of experience, and the like, for principles and the insight derived from them. Our state-policy a Cyclops with one eye, and that in the back of the head; our measures become either a series of anachronisms, or a truckling to events instead of the science, that should command them; for all true insight is foresight. (Take as documents, the measures of the British Cabinet from the Boston Port-Bill, March, 1774; but particularly from 1789, to the Union with Ireland, and the Peace of Amiens.) Mean time, behold the true historical feeling, the immortal life of the nation, generation linked to generation by faith, freedom, heraldry, and ancestral fame, languishing, and giving place to the superstitions of wealth and newspaper reputation.

E. Talents without genius: a swarm of clever, well-informed men: an anarchy of minds, a despotism of maxims. Hence despotism of finance in government and legislation—of vanity and sciolism in the intercourse of life—of presump-

tion, temerity, and hardness of heart in political economy.

F. The guess-work of general consequences substituted for moral and political philosophy, and its most familiar exposition adopted as a text book in one of the Universities, and cited as authority in the Legislature. Hence *plebs pro senatu populoque*; and the wealth of the nation (that is, of the wealthy individuals thereof,) and the magnitude of the revenue mistaken for the well-being of the people.

G. Gin consumed by paupers to the value of about eighteen millions yearly: government by clubs of journeymen; by saint and sinner societies, committees, institutions; by reviews, magazines, and above all by newspapers: lastly, crimes quadrupled for the whole country, and in some counties decupled.

Concluding address to the Parliamentary leaders of the Liberalists and Utilitarians.

I respect the talents of many, and the motives and character of some, among you too sincerely to court the scorn which I anticipate. But neither shall the fear of it prevent me from declaring aloud, and as a truth which I hold it the disgrace and calamity of a professed statesman not to know and acknowledge, that a permanent, nationalized, learned order, a national clerisy or Church is an essential element of a rightly constituted nation, without which it wants the best security alike for its permanence and its progression; and for which

neither tract societies nor conventicles, nor Lancasterian schools, nor mechanics' institutions, nor lecture bazaars under the absurd name of universities, nor all these collectively, can be a substitute. For they are all marked with the same asterisk of spuriousness, shew the same distemper-spot on the front, that they are empirical specifics for morbid symptoms that help to feed and continue the disease.

But you wish for general illumination: you would spur-arm the toes of society: you would enlighten the higher ranks *per ascensum ab imis*. You begin, therefore, with the attempt to popularize science: but you will only effect its plebification. It is folly to think of making all, or the many, philosophers, or even men of science and systematic knowledge. But it is duty and wisdom to aim at making as many as possible soberly and steadily religious; inasmuch as the morality which the State requires in its citizens for its own well-being and ideal immortality, and without reference to their spiritual interest as individuals, can only exist for the people in the form of religion. But the existence of a true philosophy, or the power and habit of contemplating particulars in the unity and fontal mirror of the idea,—this in the rulers and teachers of a nation is indispensable to a sound state of religion in all classes. In fine, religion, true or false, is and ever has been the centre of gravity in a realm, to which all other things must and will accommodate themselves.

CHAPTER VIII.

The subject resumed, namely, the proper aims and characteristic directions and channels of the Nationalty. The benefits of the National Church in time past. The present beneficial influences and workings of the same.

THE deep interest which, during the far larger portion of my life since early manhood, I have attached to these convictions has, I perceive, hurried me onwards as in a rush from the letting forth of accumulated waters by the sudden opening of the sluice gates. It is high time that I should return to my subject. And I have no better way of taking up the thread of my argument than by re-stating my opinion, that our eighth Henry would have acted in correspondence with the great principles of our constitution, if, having restored the original balance on both sides, he had determined the Nationalty to the following objects: 1st. to the maintenance of the Universities and the great liberal schools: 2ndly. to the maintenance of a pastor and schoolmaster in every parish: 3rdly. to the raising and keeping in repair of the churches, schools, -and other buildings of

that kind ; and, lastly, to the maintenance of the proper, that is, the infirm, poor whether from age or sickness : one of the original purposes of the national reserve being the alleviation of those evils, which in the best forms of worldly States must arise, and must have been foreseen as arising, from the institution of individual properties and primogeniture. If these duties were efficiently performed, and these purposes adequately fulfilled, the very increase of the population (which would, however, by these very means have been prevented from becoming a vicious population,) would have more than counterbalanced those savings in the expenditure of the Nationalty occasioned by the detachment of the practitioners of Law, Medicine, and the like from the national clergy. That this transfer of the national reserve from what had become national evils to its original and inherent purpose of national benefits, instead of the sacrilegious alienation which actually took place—that this was impracticable, is historically true : but no less true is it philosophically, that this impracticability,—arising wholly from moral causes, that is, from loose manners and corrupt principles—does not rescue this wholesale sacrilege from deserving the character of the first and deadliest wound inflicted on the constitution of the kingdom : which term, constitution, in the body politic, as in bodies natural, expresses not only what has been actually evolved from, but likewise whatever is potentially contained in, the seminal principle of

the particular body, and would in its due time have appeared but for emasculation or disease. Other wounds, by which indeed the constitution of the nation has suffered, but which much more immediately concern the constitution of the Church, I shall perhaps find another place to mention.

The mercantile and commercial class, in which I here comprise all the four classes that I have put in antithesis to the landed order, the guardian and depository of the permanence of the realm, as more characteristically conspiring to the interests of its progression, the improvement and general freedom of the country—this class, as I have already remarked, in the earlier states of the constitution existed but as in the bud. Yet during all this period of potential existence, or what we may call the minority of the burgess order, the National Church was the substitute for the most important national benefits resulting from the same. The National Church presented the only breathing hole of hope. The Church alone relaxed the iron fate by which feudal dependency, primogeniture, and entail would otherwise have predestined every native of the realm to be lord or vassal. To the Church alone could the nation look for the benefits of existing knowledge, and for the means of future civilization. Lastly, let it never be forgotten, that under the fostering wing of the Church the class of free citizens and burghers were reared. To the feudal system we owe the forms, to the Church the substance, of our liberty. I mention

only two of many facts that would form the proof and comment of the above; first, the origin of towns and cities in the privileges attached to the vicinity of churches and monasteries, and which, preparing an asylum for the fugitive vassal and oppressed franklin, thus laid the first foundation of a class of freemen detached from the land;—secondly, the holy war, which the national clergy, in this instance faithful to their national duties, waged against slavery and villenage, and with such success, that in the reign of Charles II., the law* which declared every native of the realm free by birth had merely to sanction an *opus jam consummatum*. Our Maker has distinguished man from the brute that perishes, by making hope first an instinct of his nature, and, secondly, an indispensable condition of his moral and intellectual progression :

For every gift of noble origin
Is breathed upon by Hope's perpetual breath.

WORDSWORTH.

But a natural instinct constitutes a right, as far

* The Author means the Act passed at the Restoration, 12 C. II. c. 24. "And these encroachments grew to be so universal, that when tenure in villenage was virtually abolished (though copyholds were preserved) by the statute of Charles II., there was hardly a pure villein left in the nation," &c. Blackstone II. c. 6. 96.—*Ed.*

as its gratification is compatible with the equal rights of others. And this principle may be expanded and applied to the idea of the National Church.

Among the primary ends of a State (in that highest sense of the word, in which it is equivalent to the nation, considered as one body politic, and therefore including the National Church), there are two, of which the National Church (according to its idea) is the especial and constitutional organ and means. The one is, to secure to the subjects of the realm, generally, the hope, the chance of bettering their own or their children's condition. And though during the last three or four centuries, the National Church has found a most powerful surrogate and ally for the effectuation of this great purpose in her former wards and foster-children, that is, in trade, commerce, free industry, and the arts; yet still the Nationalty, under all its defalcations, continues to feed the higher ranks by drawing up whatever is worthiest from below, and thus maintains the principle of hope in the humblest families, while it secures the possessions of the rich and noble. This is one of the two ends. The other is, to develope in every native of the country those faculties, and to provide for every native that knowledge and those attainments, which are necessary to qualify him for a member of the State, the free subject of a civilized realm. I do not mean those degrees of moral and intellectual cultivation which distinguish man from man in the same

civilized society, much less those that separate the Christian from the this-worldian ; but those only that constitute the civilized man in contra-distinction from the barbarian, the savage, and the animal.

I have now brought together all that seemed requisite to put the intelligent reader in full possession of (what I believe to be) the right idea of the National Clergy, as an estate of the realm. But I cannot think my task finished without an attempt to rectify the too frequent false feeling on this subject, and to remove certain vulgar errors—errors, alas ! not confined to those whom the world call the vulgar. *Ma nel mondo non è se non volgo*, says Machiavel. I shall make no apology, therefore, for interposing between the preceding statements and the practical conclusion from them the following paragraph extracted from a work long out of print,* and of such very limited circulation that I might have stolen from myself with little risk of detection, had it not been my wish to shew that the convictions expressed in the preceding pages are not the offspring of the moment, brought forth for the present occasion ; but an expansion of sentiments and principles publicly avowed in the year 1817.

Among the numerous blessings of the English Constitution, the introduction of an established Church makes an especial claim on the gratitude

* Biog. Lit. Vol. I.—*Ed.*

of scholars and philosophers ; in England, at least, where the principles of Protestantism have conspired with the freedom of the government to double all its salutary powers by the removal of its abuses.

That the maxims of a pure morality, and those sublime truths of the divine unity and attributes, which a Plato found hard to learn and more difficult to reveal ; that these should have become the almost hereditary property of childhood and poverty, of the hovel and the workshop ; that even to the unlettered they sound as common place ; this is a fact which must withhold all but minds of the most vulgar cast from undervaluing the services even of the pulpit and the reading desk. Yet he who should confine the efficiency of an established Church to these can hardly be placed in a much higher rank of intellect. That to every parish throughout the kingdom there is transplanted a germ of civilization ; that in the remotest villages there is a *nucleus*, round which the capabilities of the place may crystallize and brighten ; a model sufficiently superior to excite, yet sufficiently near to encourage and facilitate, imitation ; this inobtrusive, continuous agency of a Protestant Church Establishment, this it is which the patriot and the philanthropist, who would fain unite the love of peace with a faith in the progressive amelioration of mankind, cannot estimate at too high a price. *It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx, or the sapphire. No*

mention shall be made of coral or of pearls ; for the price of wisdom is above rubies. The clergyman is with his parishioners and among them ; he is neither in the cloistered cell, nor in the wilderness, but a neighbour and family-man, whose education and rank admit him to the mansion of the rich-landholder while his duties make him the frequent visiter of the farm-house and the cottage. He is, or he may become, connected with the families of his parish or its vicinity by marriage. And among the instances of the blindness or at best of the short-sightedness, which it is the nature of cupidity to inflict, I know few more striking than the clamours of the farmers against Church property. Whatever was not paid to the clergymen would inevitably at the next renewal of the lease be paid to the landholder, while, as the case at present stands, the revenues of the Church are in some sort the reversionary property of every family that may have a member educated for the Church or a daughter that may marry a clergyman. Instead of being foreclosed and immoveable, it is, in fact, the only species of landed property that is essentially moving and circulative. That their exist no inconveniences, who will pretend to assert? But I have yet to expect the proof that the inconveniences are greater in this than in any other species ; or that either the farmers or the clergy would be benefited by forcing the latter to become either Trullibers or salaried placemen. Nay, I do not hesitate to declare my firm persuasion that what-

ever reason of discontent the farmers may assign, the true cause is that they may cheat the parson but cannot cheat the steward : and that they are disappointed if they should have been able to withhold only two pounds less than the legal claim, having expected to withhold five.

CHAPTER IX.

Practical Conclusion: What unfits for, and what excludes from, the National Church.

THE Clerisy, or National Church, being an estate of the realm, the Church and State, with the King as the sovereign head of both, constituting the body politic, the State in the larger sense of the word, or the nation dynamically considered (*ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα*, that is, as an ideal, but not the less actual and abiding, unity); and in like manner, the Nationalty being one of the two constitutional modes or species, of which the common wealth of the nation consists; it follows by immediate consequence, that of the qualifications and preconditions for the trusteeship, absolutely to be required of the order collectively, and of every individual person as the conditions of his admission into this order, and of his capability of the usufruct or life-

interest of any part or parcel of the Nationalty, the first and most indispensable, that without which all others are null and void, is, that the national Clergy and every member of the same from the highest to the lowest, shall be fully and exclusively citizens of the State, neither acknowledging the authority, nor within the influence, of any other state in the world;—full and undistracted subjects of this kingdom, and in no capacity, and under no pretences, owning any other earthly sovereign or visible head but the King, in whom alone the majesty of the nation is apparent, and by whom alone the unity of the nation in will and in deed is symbolically expressed and impersonated.

The full extent of this first and absolutely necessary qualification will be best seen in stating the contrary, that is, the absolute disqualifications, the existence of which in any individual, and in any class or order of men, constitutionally incapacitates such individual and class or order from being inducted into the national trust: and this on a principle so vitally concerning the health and integrity of the body politic, as to render the voluntary transfer of the Nationalty, whole or in part, direct or indirect, to an order notoriously thus disqualified, a foul treason against the most fundamental rights and interests of the realm, and of all classes of its citizens and free subjects, the individuals of the very order itself, as citizens and subjects, not excepted. Now there are two things, and but two, which evidently and predeterminably

disqualify for this great trust : the first absolutely ; and the second,—which in its collective operation, and as an attribute of the whole class, would, of itself, constitute the greatest possible unfitness for the proper ends and purposes of the National Church, as explained and specified in the preceding paragraphs, and the heaviest drawback from the civilizing influence of the national Clergy in their pastoral and parochial character—the second, I say, by implying the former, becomes likewise an absolute ground of disqualification. It is scarcely necessary to add, what the reader will have anticipated, that the first absolute disqualification is allegiance to a foreign power : the second, the abjuration—under the command and authority of this power, and as by the rule of their order its professed lieges (*alligati*)—of that bond, which more than all other ties connects the citizen with his country ; which beyond all other securities affords the surest pledge to the State for the fealty of its citizens, and that which (when the rule is applied to any body or class of men, under whatever name united, where the number is sufficiently great to neutralize the accidents of individual temperament and circumstances,) enables the State to calculate on their constant adhesion to its interests, and to rely on their faith and singleness of heart in the due execution of whatever public or national trust may be assigned to them.

But I shall, perhaps, express the nature of this

security more adequately by the negative. The marriage tie is a bond the preclusion of which by an antecedent obligation, that overrules the accidents of individual character and is common to the whole order, deprives the State of a security with which it cannot dispense. I will not say that it is a security which the State may rightfully demand of all its adult citizens, competently circumstanced, by positive enactment: though I might shelter the position under the authority of the great publicists and state-lawyers of the Augustan age, who, in the *Lex Papia Poppæa** enforced anew a principle common to the old Roman Constitution with that of Sparta. But without the least fear of confutation, though in the full foresight of vehement contradiction, I do assert that the State may rightfully demand of any number of its subjects united in one body or order the absence of all customs, initiative vows, covenants and by-laws in that order, precluding the members of such body collectively and individually from affording this security. In strictness of principle, I might here conclude the sentence, though as it now stands it would involve the assertion of a right in the State to suppress any order confederated under laws so anti-civic. But I am no friend to any rights that can be disjoined from the duty of enforcing them.

* A.U.C. 762.—*inditi custodes, et lege Papia Poppæa præmiis inducti, ut, si a privilegiis parentum cessaretur, velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret.* Tac. Ann. III. 28.—Ed.

I therefore at once confine and complete the sentence thus:—The State not only possesses the right of demanding, but is in duty bound to demand, the above as a necessary condition of its entrusting to any order of men, and to any individual as a member of a known order, the titles, functions, and investments of the National Church.

But if any doubt could attach to the proposition, whether thus stated or in the perfectly equivalent converse, that is, that the existence and known enforcement of the injunction or prohibitory by-law, before described, in any order or incorporation constitutes an *a priori* disqualification for the trusteeship of the Nationalty, and an insuperable obstacle to the establishment of such an order or of any members of the same as a national Clergy, —such doubt would be removed, as soon as this injunction, or vow exacted and given, or whatever else it may be, by which the members of the order, collectively and as such, incapacitate themselves from affording this security for their full, faithful, and unbiassed application of a national trust to its proper and national purposes, is found in conjunction with, and aggravated by, the three following circumstances. First, that this incapacitation originates in, and forms part of, the allegiance of the order to a foreign sovereignty: secondly, that it is notorious that the canon or prescript, on which it is grounded, was first enforced on the secular clergy universally, after long and obstinate reluctance on their side, and on

that of their natural sovereigns in the several realms, to which as subjects they belonged; and that it is still retained in force, and its revocation inflexibly refused, as the direct and only adequate means of supporting that usurped and foreign sovereignty, and of securing by virtue of the expatriating and insulating effect of its operation the devotion and allegiance of the order* to their visible head and sovereign: and thirdly, that the operation of the interdict precludes one of the most constant and influential ways and means of promoting the great paramount end of a National Church, the progressive civilization of the community.

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus.

And now let me conclude these preparatory notices by compressing the sum and substance of my argument into this one sentence. Though many things may detract from the comparative

* For the fullest and ablest exposition of this point, I refer to the Rev. Joseph Blanco White's "Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism," and to that admirable work, "*Riforma d'Italia*," written by a professed and apparently sincere Roman Catholic, a work which well merits translation. I know no work so well fitted to soften the prejudices against the theoretical doctrines of the Latin Church, and to deepen our reprobation of what it actually, and practically is in all countries where the expediency of keeping up appearances, as in Protestant neighbourhoods, does not operate.

fitness of individuals or of particular classes for the trust and functions of the Nationalty, there are only two absolute disqualifications : and these are, allegiance to a foreign power, or the acknowledgement of any other visible head of the Church, but our sovereign lord the King : and compulsory celibacy in connection with, and in dependence on, a foreign and extra-national head.

CHAPTER X.

On the King and the Nation.

A TREATISE? why, the subjects might, I own, excite some apprehension of the sort. But it will be found like sundry Greek treatises among the tinder-rolls of Herculaneum, with titles of as large promise, somewhat largely and irregularly abbreviated in the process of unrolling. In fact, neither my purpose nor my limits permit more than a few hints which may prepare the reader for some of the positions assumed in the second part of this volume.

Of the King with the two Houses of Parliament, as constituting the State (in the especial and antithetic sense of the word) I have already spoken : and what remains is only to determine the proper and

legitimate objects of its superintendence and control. On what is the power of the State rightfully exercised? Now, I am not arguing in a court of law; and my purpose would be grievously misunderstood if what I say should be taken as intended for an assertion of the fact. Neither of facts, nor of statutory and demandable rights do I speak: but exclusively of the State according to the idea. And in accordance with the idea of the State, I do not hesitate to answer that the legitimate objects of its power comprise all the interests and concerns of the proprietage, both landed and personal, and whether inheritably vested in the lineage or in the individual citizen; and these alone. Even in the lives and limbs of the lieges the King, as the head and arm of the State, has an interest of property; and in any trespass against them the King appears as plaintiff.

The chief object, for which men, who from the beginning existed as a social bond, first formed themselves into a state and on the social superinduced the political relation, was not the protection of their lives but of their property. The natural man is too proud an animal to admit that he needs any other protection for his life than what his own courage and that of his clan can bestow. Where the nature of the soil and climate has precluded all property but personal, and admitted that only in its simplest forms, as in Greenland for instance,—there men remain in the domestic state and form neighbourhoods, not governments. And

in North America the chiefs appear to exercise government in those tribes only which possess individual landed property. Among the rest the chief is the general, a leader in war ; not a magistrate. To property and to its necessary inequalities must be referred all human laws, that would not be laws without and independent of any conventional enactment ; that is, all State-legislation.*

Next comes the King, as the head of the National Church or Clerisy, and the protector and supreme trustee of the Nationalty : the power of the same in relation to its proper objects being exercised by the King and the Houses of Convocation, of which, as before of the State, the King is the head and arm. And here if it had been my purpose to enter at once on the developement of this position, together with the conclusions to be drawn from it, I should need with increased earnestness remind the reader that I am neither describing what the National Church now is, nor determining what it ought to be. My statements respect the idea alone as deduced from its original purpose and ultimate aim : and of the idea only must my assertions be understood. But the full exposition of this point is not necessary for the appreciation of the late Bill which is the subject of the following part of the volume. It belongs indeed to the chapter with which I had intended to conclude this volume, and which, should my health permit, and the cir-

* See the Friend, i. p. 274. 3rd edit.—*Ed.*

cumstances warrant it, it is still my intention to let follow the present work—namely, my humble contribution towards an answer to the question, What is to be done now? For the present, therefore, it will be sufficient, if I recall to the reader's recollection that formerly the national Clerisy, in the two Houses of Convocation duly assembled and represented, taxed themselves. But as to the proper objects, on which the authority of the Convocation with the King as its head was to be exercised,—these the reader will himself without difficulty decypher by referring to what has been already said respecting the proper and distinguishing ends and purposes of a National Church.

I pass, therefore, at once to the relations of the Nation, or the State in the larger sense of the word, to the State especially so named, and to the Crown. And on this subject again I shall confine myself to a few important, yet, I trust, not common nor obvious, remarks respecting the conditions requisite or especially favourable to the health and vigour of the realm. From these again I separate those, the nature and importance of which cannot be adequately exhibited but by adverting to the consequences which have followed their neglect or inobservance, reserving them for another place: while for the present occasion I select two only; but these, I dare believe, not unworthy the name of political principles, or maxims, that is, *regulæ quæ inter maximas numerari merentur*. And both of them forcibly confirm and exemplify a remark,

often and in various ways suggested to my mind, that with, perhaps, one* exception, it would be difficult in the whole compass of language to find a metaphor so commensurate, so pregnant, or suggesting so many points of elucidation, as that of body politic, as the exponent of a State or Realm. I have little admiration for the many-jointed similitudes of Flavel, and other finders of moral and spiritual meanings in the works of art and nature, where the proportion of the likeness to the difference not seldom reminds me of the celebrated comparison of the morning twilight to a boiled lobster.† But the correspondence between the body politic and the body natural holds even in the detail of application. Let it not however be supposed that I expect to derive any proof of my positions from this analogy. My object in thus prefacing them is answered, if I have shown cause for the use of the physiological terms by which I have sought to render my meaning intelligible.

The first condition then required, in order to a sound constitution of the body politic, is a due proportion of the free and permeative life and energy of the nation to the organized powers brought within containing channels. What those vital forces that seem to bear an analogy to the imponderable agents, magnetic, or galvanic, in bodies inorganic, if indeed,

* That namely of the WORD (*John*, i. 1.) for the Divine Alterity; the *Deus Alter et Idem* of Philo; *Deitas Objectiva*.

† *Hudibras* Pt. II. c. 2 v. 29.—*Ed.*

they are not the same in a higher energy and under a different law of action—what these, I say, are in the living body in distinction from the fluids in the glands and vessels—the same, or at least holding a like relation, are the indeterminable, but yet actual, influences of intellect, information, prevailing principles and tendencies, (to which we must add the influence of property, or income, where it exists without right of suffrage attached thereto), to the regular, definite, and legally recognized powers in the body politic. But as no simile runs on all four legs (*nihil simile est idem*), so here the difference in respect of the body politic is, that in sundry instances the former, that is, the permeative, species of force is capable of being converted into the latter, of being as it were organized and rendered a part of the vascular system, by attaching a measured and determinate political right or privilege thereto.

What the exact proportion, however, of the two kinds of force should be, it is impossible to predetermine. But the existence of a disproportion is sure to be detected sooner or later by the effects. Thus : the ancient Greek democracies, the hot-beds of art, science, genius, and civilization, fell into dissolution from the excess of the former, the permeative power deranging the functions, and by explosions shattering the organic structures, which they should have enlivened. On the contrary, the Republic of Venice fell by the contrary extremes. For there all political power was confined to the

determinate vessels, and these becoming more and more rigid, even to an ossification of the arteries, the State, in which the people were nothing, lost all power of resistance *ad extra*.

Under this head, in short, there are three possible sorts of malformation to be noticed. The first is, the adjunction or concession of direct political power to personal force and influence, whether physical or intellectual, existing in classes or aggregates of individuals, without those fixed or tangible possessions, freehold; copyhold, or leasehold, in land, house, or stock. The power resulting from the acquisition of knowledge or skill, and from the superior developement of the understanding is, doubtless, of a far nobler kind than mere physical strength and fierceness; the one being peculiar to the animal man, the other common to him with the bear, the buffalo, and the mastiff. And if superior talents, and the mere possession of knowledges, such as can be learned at Mechanics' Institutions, were regularly accompanied with a will in harmony with the reason, and a consequent subordination of the appetites and passions to the ultimate ends of our being;—if intellectual gifts and attainments were infallible signs of wisdom and goodness in the same proportion, and the knowing and clever were always rational;—if the mere facts of science conferred or superseded the softening humanizing influences of the moral world, that habitual presence of the beautiful or the seemly, and that exemption from all familiarity with the

gross, the mean, and the disorderly, whether in look or language, or in the surrounding objects, in which the main efficacy of a liberal education consists ;—and if, lastly, these acquirements and powers of the understanding could be shared equally by the whole class, and did not, as by a necessity of nature they ever must do, fall to the lot of two or three in each several group, club, or neighbourhood ;—then, indeed, by an enlargement of the Chinese system, political power might not unwisely be conferred as the *honorarium* or privilege on having passed through all the forms in the national schools, without the security of political ties, without those fastenings and radical fibres of a collective and registrable property, by which the citizen inheres in and belongs to the commonwealth, as a constituent part either of the Proprietary, or of the Nationalty ; either of the State or of the National Church. But as the contrary of all these suppositions may be more safely assumed, the practical conclusion will be—not that the requisite means of intellectual developement and growth should be withholden from any native of the soil, which it was at all times wicked to wish, and which it would be now silly to attempt ; but that the gifts of the understanding whether the boon of a genial nature, or the reward of more persistent application, should be allowed fair play in the acquiring of that proprietorship, to which a certain portion of political power belongs as its proper function. For in this way there is at least a strong probability that intellectual power

will be armed with political power, only where it has previously been combined with and guarded by the moral qualities of prudence, industry, and self-control. And this is the first of the three kinds of mal-organization in a state;—namely, direct political power without cognizable possession.

The second is, the exclusion of any class or numerous body of individuals, who have notoriously risen into possession, and the influence inevitably connected with known possession, under pretence of impediments that do not directly or essentially affect the character of the individuals as citizens, or absolutely disqualify them for the performance of civic duties. Imperfect, yet oppressive and irritating, ligatures these that peril the trunk, the circulating current of which they would withhold, even more than the limb which they would fain excommunicate.

The third and last is, a gross incorrespondency, in relation to our own country, of the proportion of the antagonist interests of the body politic in the representative body, in the two Houses of Parliament, to the actual proportion of the same interests and of the public influence exerted by the same in the nation at large. Whether in consequence of the gradual revolution which has transferred to the *magnates* of the landed interest so large a portion of that borough representation which was to have been its counterbalance; whether the same causes which have deranged the *equilibrium*

of the landed and the* monied interests in the Legislature have not likewise deranged the balance between the two unequal divisions of the landed interest itself, namely, the Major Barons, or great land-owners, with or without title, and the great body of the agricultural community, and thus given

* *Monied*, used arbitrarily, as in preceding pages the words, *Personal* and *Independent*, from my inability to find any one self-interpreting word, that would serve for the generic name of the four classes, on which I have stated the interest of progression more especially to depend, and with it the freedom which is the indispensable condition and propelling force of all national progress: even as the counter-pole, the other great interest of the body politic, its permanency, is more especially committed to the landed order, as its natural guardian and depository. I have therefore had recourse to the convenient figure of speech, by which a conspicuous part or feature of a subject is used to express the whole; and the reader will be so good as to understand, that the monied order in this place comprehends and stands for the commercial, manufacturing, distributive, and professional classes of the community.

Only a few days ago, an accident placed in my hand a work of which, from my very limited opportunities of seeing new publications, I had never before heard,—Mr. Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago—the work of a wise as well as of an able and well-informed man. Need I add that it was no ordinary gratification to find that in respect of certain prominent positions, maintained in this volume, I had unconsciously been fighting behind the shield of one whom I deem it an honour to follow. But the sheets containing the passages having been printed off, I avail myself of this note to insert the sentences from Mr. Crawford's History, rather than lose the confirmation which a

to the real or imagined interests of the comparatively few the imposing name of the interest of the whole, the landed interest;—these are questions, to which the obdurate adherence to the jail-crowding game laws, (which during the reading of the Litany, I have sometimes been tempted to

coincidence with so high an authority has produced on my own mind, and the additional weight which my sentiments will receive in the judgment of others. The first of the two extracts the reader will consider as annexed to pp. 25—27. of this volume; the second to the paragraph (p. 87.) on the protection of property, as the end chiefly proposed in the formation of a fixed government, quoted from a work of my own, published ten or eleven years before the appearance of Mr. Crawford's History, which I notice in order to give the principle in question that probability of its being grounded in fact, which is derived from the agreement of two independent minds. The first extract Mr. Crawford introduces by the remark that the possession of wealth, derived from a fertile soil, encouraged the progress of absolute power in Java. He then proceeds—

EXTRACT I.

The devotion of a people to agricultural industry, by rendering themselves more tame and their property more tangible, went still farther towards it: for wherever agriculture is the principal pursuit, there it may certainly be reckoned, that the people will be found living under an absolute government.—Vol. iii. p. 24.

EXTRACT II.

In cases of murder, no distinction is made (in the ancient laws of the Indian Islanders) between wilful murder and chance-medley. It is the loss, which the family or tribe sustains, that is considered, and the pecuniary compensation was calculated to make up that loss.—Ib. p. 123.

include, by a sort of *sub intellige*, in the petitions—*from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness; from battle, murder, and sudden death, Good Lord, deliver us!*) to which the old corn laws, and the exclusion of the produce of our own colonies from our distilleries, during the war, against the earnest recommendation of the government, the retention of the statutes against usury, and other points of minor importance or of less safe handling, may seem at a first view to suggest an answer in the affirmative; but which, for reasons before assigned, I shall leave unresolved, content if only I have made the principle itself intelligible.

The following anecdote, for I have no means of ascertaining its truth, and no warrant to offer for its accuracy, I give not as a fact in proof of an overbalance of the landed interest, but as an indistinctly remembered hearsay, in elucidation of what is meant by the words. Some eighteen or twenty years ago—for so long I think it must have been, since the circumstance was first related to me—my illustrious (alas! I must add, I fear, my late) friend, Sir Humphrey Davy, at Sir Joseph Banks's request, analyzed a portion of an East Indian import, known by the names of cutch, and *terra Japonica*; but which he ascertained to be a vegetable extract, consisting almost wholly of pure tannin: and further trials, with less pure specimens, still led to the conclusion that the average product would be seven parts in ten of the tanning

principle. This discovery was* communicated to the trade; and on inquiry made at the India House,

* And, (if I recollect right, though it was not from him, that I received the anecdote) by a friend of Sir Humphrey's, whom I am proud to think my friend likewise, and by an elder claim:¹—a man whom I have seen now in his harvest field, or the market, now in a committee-room with the Rickmans and Ricardos of the age; at another time with Davy, Wollaston, and the Wedgewoods; now with Wordsworth, Southey, and other friends not unheard of in the republic of letters; now in the drawing-rooms of the rich and the noble, and now presiding at the annual dinner of a village benefit society; and in each seeming to be in the very place he was intended for, and taking the part to which his tastes, talents, and attainments gave him an admitted right. And yet this is not the most remarkable, not the individualizing, trait of my friend's character. It is almost overlooked in the originality and raciness of his intellect; in the life, freshness and practical value of his remarks and notices, truths plucked as they are growing, and delivered to you with the dew on them, the fair earnings of an observing eye, armed and kept on the watch by thought and meditation; and above all, in the integrity or entireness of his being, (*integrum et sine cere vas*), the steadiness of his attachments, and the activity and persistency of a benevolence, which so graciously presses a warm temper into the service of a yet warmer heart, and so lights up the little flaws and imperfections, incident to humanity in its choicest specimens, that were their removal at the option of his friends, (and few have, or deserve to have so many) not a man among them but would vote for leaving him as he is.

This is a note digressive; but, as the height of the offence is, that the garnish is too good for the dish, I shall confine my apology to a confession of the fault.

¹ The late excellent Thomas Poole of Nether Stowey, Somerset.—*Ed.*

it was found that this catch could be prepared in large quantities, and imported at a price which, after an ample profit to the importers, it would very well answer the purposes of the tanners to give. The trade itself, too, was likely to be greatly benefitted and enlarged by being rendered less dependent on particular situations ; while the reduction of the price at which it could be offered to the foreign consumer, acting in conjunction with the universally admitted superiority of the English leather, might be reasonably calculated on as enabling us to undersell our foreign rivals in their own markets. Accordingly, an offer was made on the part of the principal persons interested in the leather trade to purchase, at any price below the sum that had been stated to them as the highest or extreme price, as large a quantity as it was probable that the Company would find it feasible or convenient to import in the first instance. Well ! the ships went out, and the ships returned, again and again : and no increase in the amount of the said *desideratum* appearing among the imports, enough only being imported to meet the former demand of the druggists, and (it is whispered) of certain ingenious transmuters of Bohea into Hyson, —my memory does not enable me to determine whether the inquiry into the occasion of this disappointment was made, or whether it was anticipated by a discovery that it would be useless. But it was generally understood that the tanners had not been the only persons, whose attention had

been drawn to the qualities of the article, and the consequences of its importation ; and that a very intelligible hint had been given to persons of known influence in Leadenhall-street, that in case any such importation were allowed, the East-India Company must not expect any support from the landed interest in Parliament at the next renewal, or motion for the renewal of their Charter. The East India Company might reduce the price of bark, one half or more ; and the British navy, and the grandsons of our present senators, might thank them for thousands and myriads of noble oaks, left unstript in consequence—this may be true ; but no less true is it, that the free merchants would soon reduce the price of good tea in the same proportion, and monopolists ought to have a feeling for each other.

CHAPTER XI.

The relations of the potential to the actual. The omnipotence of Parliament ;—of what kind.

So much in explanation of the first of the two conditions* of the health and vigour of a body politic : and far more, I must confess, than I had myself reckoned on. I will endeavour to indemnify the

* See *ante*, p. 90.—*Ed.*

reader by despatching the second in a few sentences, which could not so easily have been accomplished without the explanations given in the preceding paragraphs. For as we have found the first condition in the due proportion of the free and permeative life of the State to the powers organized, and severally determined by their appropriate containing or conducting nerves, or vessels; the second condition is a due proportion of the potential, that is, latent or dormant power to the actual power. In the first condition, both powers alike are awake and in act. The balance is produced by the polarization of the actual power, that is, the opposition of the actual power organized to the actual power free and permeating the organs. In the second, the actual power, *in toto*, is opposed to the potential. It has been frequently and truly observed that in England, where the ground plan, the skeleton, as it were, of the government is a monarchy, at once buttressed and limited by the aristocracy, (the assertions of its popular character finding a better support in the harangues and theories of popular men, than in state-documents and the records of clear history,) a far greater degree of liberty is, and long has been, enjoyed than ever existed in the ostensibly freest, that is, most democratic, commonwealths of ancient or of modern times;—greater, indeed, and with a more decisive predominance of the spirit of freedom than the wisest and most philanthropic statesmen of antiquity, or than the great

Commonwealth's-men, (the stars of that narrow interspace of blue sky between the black clouds of the first and second Charles's reigns) believed compatible, the one with the safety of the State, the other with the interests of morality.

Yes! for little less than a century and a half Englishmen have collectively and individually lived and acted with fewer restraints on their free-agency than the citizens of any known* republic, past or present. The fact is certain. It has been often boasted of, but never, I think, clearly explained. The solution must, it is obvious, be sought for in the combination of circumstances, to which we owe the insular privilege of a self-evolving Constitution: and the following will, I think, be found the main cause of the fact in question. Extremes meet—an adage of inexhaustible exemplification. A democratic republic and an absolute monarchy agree in this; that, in both alike, the nation or people delegates its whole power. Nothing is left obscure, nothing suffered to remain in the idea,

* It will be thought, perhaps, that the United States of North America should have been excepted. But the identity of stock, language, customs, manners and laws scarcely allows me to consider this an exception: even though it were quite certain both that it is and that it will continue such. It was, at all events, a remark worth remembering, which I once heard from a traveller (a prejudiced one I must admit), that where every man may take liberties, there is little liberty for any man;—or, that where every man takes liberties, no man can enjoy any.

unevolved and only acknowledged as an existing, yet indeterminable right. A Constitution such states can scarcely be said to possess. The whole will of the body politic is in act at every moment. But in the constitution of England according to the idea, (which in this instance has demonstrated its actuality by its practical influence, and this too though counter-worked by fashionable errors and maxims, that left their validity behind in the law-courts, from which they were borrowed) the nation has delegated its power, not without measure and circumscription, whether in respect of the duration of the trust, or of the particular interests entrusted.

The omnipotence of Parliament, in the mouth of a lawyer, and understood exclusively of the restraints and remedies within the competence of our law-courts, is objectionable only as bombast. It is but a puffing pompous way of stating a plain matter of fact. Yet in the times preceding the Restoration even this was not universally admitted. And it is not without a fair show of reason that the shrewd and learned author of "The Royalist's Defence," printed in the year 1648, (a tract of 172 pages, small quarto, from which I now transcribe) thus sums up his argument and evidences :

" Upon the whole matter clear it is, the Parliament itself (that is, the King, the Lords, and Commons) although unanimously consenting, are not boundless : the Judges of the realm by the fundamental law of England have power to deter-

mine which Acts of Parliaments are binding and which void." p. 48.—That a unanimous declaration of the judges of the realm that any given Act of Parliament was against right reason and the fundamental law of the land (that is, the constitution of the realm), would render such Act null and void, was a principle that did not want defenders among the lawyers of elder times. And in a state of society in which the competently informed and influential members of the community, (the national Clerisy not included), scarcely perhaps trebled the number of the members of the two Houses, and Parliaments were so often tumultuary congresses of a victorious party rather than representatives of the State, the right and power here asserted might have been wisely vested in the judges of the realm: and with at least equal wisdom, under change of circumstances, has the right been suffered to fall into abeyance. "Therefore let the potency of Parliament be that highest and uttermost, beyond which a court of law looketh not: and within the sphere of the Courts *quicquid Rex cum Parlamento voluit, fatum sit!*"

But if the strutting phrase be taken, as from sundry recent speeches respecting the fundamental institutions of the realm it may be reasonably inferred that it has been taken, that is, absolutely, and in reference, not to our courts of law exclusively, but to the nation, to England with all her venerable heir-looms, and with all her germs of reversionary wealth,—thus used and understood,

the omnipotence of Parliament is an hyperbole that would contain mischief in it, were it only that it tends to provoke a detailed analysis of the materials of the joint-stock company, to which so terrific an attribute belongs, and the competence of the shareholders in this earthly omnipotence to exercise the same. And on this head the observations and descriptive statements given in the fifth chapter of the old tract, just cited, retain all their force; or if any have fallen off, their place has been abundantly filled up by new growths. The degree and sort of knowledge, talent, probity, and prescience, which it would be only too easy, were it not too invidious, to prove from acts and measures presented by the history of the last half century, are but scant measure even when exerted within the sphere and circumscription of the constitution, and on the matters properly and peculiarly appertaining to the State according to the idea;—this portion of moral and mental endowment placed by the side of the *plusquam*-gigantic height and amplitude of power, implied in the unqualified use of the phrase, omnipotence of Parliament, and with its dwarfdom intensified by the contrast, would threaten to distort the countenance of truth itself with the sardonic laugh of irony.*

* I have not in my possession the morning paper in which I read it, or I should with great pleasure transcribe an admirable passage from the present King of Sweden's Address to the Storting, or Parliament of Norway, on the necessary limits of Parliamentary power, consistently with the exis-

The non-resistance of successive generations has ever been, and with evident reason, deemed equivalent to a tacit consent, on the part of the nation, and as finally legitimating the act thus acquiesced in, however great the dereliction of principle, and breach of trust, the original enactment may have been. I hope, therefore, that without offence I may venture to designate the Septennial Act as an act of usurpation, tenfold more dangerous to the true liberty of the nation than the pretext for the measure, namely, the apprehended Jacobite leaven from a new election, was at all likely to have proved : and I repeat the conviction which I have expressed in reference to the practical suppression of the Convocation, that no great principle was ever invaded or trampled on, that did not sooner or later avenge itself on the country, and even on the governing classes themselves, by the consequences of the precedent. The statesman who has not learned this from history has missed its most valuable result, and might in my opinion as profitably, and far more delightfully, have devoted his hours of study to Sir Walter Scott's Novels.*

tence of a constitution. But I can with confidence refer the reader to the speech, as worthy of an Alfred. Every thing indeed that I have heard or read of this sovereign, has contributed to the impression on my mind, that he is a good and a wise man, and worthy to be the king of a virtuous people, the purest specimen of the Gothic race.

* This would not be the first time that these fascinating volumes had been recommended as a substitute for history

But I must draw in my reins. Neither my limits permit, nor does my present purpose require, that I should do more than exemplify the limitation resulting from that latent or potential power, a due proportion of which to the actual powers I have stated as the second condition of the health and vigor of a body politic, by an instance bearing directly on the measure which in the following section I am to aid in appreciating, and which was the occasion of the whole work. The principle itself,—which, as not contained within the rule and compass of law, its practical manifestations being indeterminable and inappreciable *a priori*, and then only to be recorded as having manifested itself, when the predisposing causes and the enduring effects prove the unific mind and energy of the nation to have been in travail; when they have made audible to the historian that voice of the people which is the voice of God;—this principle, I say, (or the power, that is the subject of it) which by its very essence existing and working as an idea only, except in the rare and predestined epochs of growth and reparation, might seem to many fitter matter for verse than for sober argument,—I will, by way of compromise, and for the amusement of the reader, sum up in the rhyming

—a ground of recommendation, to which I could not conscientiously accede; though some half dozen of these Novels, with a perfect recollection of the contents of every page, I read over more often in the course of a year than I can honestly put down to my own credit.

prose of an old Puritan poet, consigned to contempt by Mr. Pope, but whose writings, with all their barren flats and dribbling common-place, contain nobler principles, profounder truths, and more that is properly and peculiarly poetic, than are to be found in his own works.* The passage in question, however, I found occupying the last page on a flying-sheet of four leaves, entitled *England's Misery and Remedy, in a judicious Letter from an Utter-Barrister to his Special Friend, concerning Lieut-Col. Lilburne's Imprisonment in Newgate*; and I beg leave to borrow the introduction, together with the extract, or that part at least, which suited my purpose.

“Christian Reader, having a vacant place for some few lines, I have made bold to use some of Major George Withers his verses out of *Vox Pacifica*, page 199.

* If it were asked whether I consider the works of the one of equal value with those of the other, or hold George Withers to be as great a writer as Alexander Pope,—my answer would be that I am as little likely to do so, as the querist would be to put no greater value on a highly wrought vase of pure silver from the hand of a master, than on an equal weight of copper ore that contained a small per centage of separable gold scattered through it. The reader will be pleased to observe that in the passage here cited, the “State” is used in the largest sense, and as synonymous with the realm, or entire body politic, including Church and State in the narrower and special sense of the latter term.

“ Let not your King and Parliament in one,
 Much less apart, mistake themselves for that
 Which is most worthy to be thought upon :
 Nor think they are, essentially, the State.
 Let them not fancy, that th’ authority
 And privileges upon them bestown,
 Conferr’d are to set up a majesty,
 A power, or a glory, of their own !
 But let them know, ’twas for a deeper life,
 Which they but represent——
 That there’s on earth a yet auguster thing,
 Veil’d tho’ it be, than Parliament and King.”

CHAPTER XII.

The preceding position exemplified. The origin and meaning of the Coronation Oath, in respect of the National Church. In what its moral obligation consists. Recapitulation.

AND here again the “ Royalist’s Defence” furnishes me with the introductory paragraph : and I am always glad to find in the words of an elder writer, what I must otherwise have said in my own person—*otium simul et auctoritatem.*

“ All Englishmen grant, that arbitrary power is destructive of the best purposes for which power is conferred : and in the preceding chapter it has been shown, that to give an unlimited authority over the fundamental laws and rights of the nation,

even to the King and two Houses of Parliament jointly, though nothing so bad as to have this boundless power in the King alone, or in the Parliament alone, were nevertheless to deprive Englishmen of the security from arbitrary power, which is their birth right.

“ Upon perusal of former statutes it appears, that the members of both Houses have been frequently drawn to consent, not only to things prejudicial to the Commonwealth, but, (even in matters of greatest weight) to alter and contradict what formerly themselves had agreed to, and that, as it happened to please the fancy of the present Prince, or to suit the passions and interests of a prevailing faction. Witness the statute by which it was enacted that the proclamation of King Henry VIII. should be equivalent to an Act of Parliament; another declaring both Mary and Elizabeth bastards; and a third statute empowering the King to dispose of the Crown of England by will and testament. Add to these the several statutes in the times of King Henry VIII. Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, setting up and pulling down each other's religion, every one of them condemning even to death the profession of the one before established.”—*Royalist's Defence*, p. 41.

So far my anonymous author, evidently an old Tory lawyer of the genuine breed, too enlightened to obfuscate and incense-blacken the shrine, through which the kingly idea should be transluc-

cent, into an idol to be worshipped in its own right ; but who, considering both the reigning Sovereign and the Houses, as limited and representative functionaries, thought he saw reason, in some few cases, to place more confidence in the former than in the latter ; while there were points, which he wished as little as possible to trust to either. With this experience, however, as above stated, (and it would not be difficult to increase the catalogue,) can we wonder that the nation grew sick of Parliamentary religions ;—or that the idea should at last awake and become operative, that what virtually concerned their humanity and involved yet higher relations than those of the citizen to the State, duties more awful, and more precious privileges, while yet it stood in closest connection with all their civil duties and rights, as their indispensable condition and only secure ground—that this was not a matter to be voted up or down, off or on, by fluctuating majorities ;—that it was too precious an inheritance to be left at the discretion of an omnipotency which had so little claim to omniscience ? No interest this of a single generation, but an entailed boon too sacred, too momentous, to be shaped and twisted, pared down or plumped up, by any assemblage of Lords, Knights, and Burgesses for the time being ;—men perfectly competent, it may be, to the protection and management of those interests in which, as having so large a stake, they may be reasonably presumed to feel a sincere and lively concern, but who, the ex-

perience of ages might teach us, are not the class of persons most likely to study or feel a deep concern in the interests here spoken of, in either sense of the term Church ;—that is, whether the interests be of a kingdom *not of the world*, or those of an estate of the realm, and a constituent part, therefore, of the same system with the State, though as the opposite pole. The results at all events have been such, whenever the representatives of the one interest have assumed the direct control of the other, as gave occasion long ago to the rhyming couplet, quoted as proverbial by Luther :

*Cum mare siccatur, cum Dæmon ad astra levatur,
Tunc clero laicus fidus amicus erit.*

But if the nation willed to withdraw the religion of the realm from the changes and revolutions incident to whatever is subjected to the suffrages of the representative assemblies, whether of the State or of the Church, the trustees of the Proprietary or those of the Nationalty, the first question is, how this reservation is to be declared and by what means to be effected. These means, the security for the permanence of the established religion, must, it may be foreseen, be imperfect ; for what can be otherwise that depends on human will ? but yet it may be abundantly sufficient to declare the aim and intention of the provision. Our ancestors did the best it was in their power to do. Knowing by recent experience that multitudes never blush, that numerous assemblies, however

respectably composed, are not exempt from temporary hallucinations and the influences of party passion; that there are things, for the conservation of which—

Men safelier trust to heaven, than to themselves,
 When least themselves, in storms of loud debate,
 Where folly is contagious, and too oft
 Even wise men leave their better sense at home
 To chide and wonder at them, when return'd.*

Knowing this, our ancestors chose to place their reliance on the honour and conscience of an individual, whose comparative height, it was believed, would exempt him from the gusts and shifting currents that agitate the lower region of the political atmosphere. Accordingly, on a change of dynasty they bound the person, who had accepted the crown in trust,—bound him for himself and his successors by an oath to refuse his consent (without which no change in the existing law can be effected,) to any measure subverting or tending to subvert the safety and independence of the National Church, or which exposed the realm to the danger of a return of that foreign usurper, misnamed spiritual, from which it had with so many sacrifices emancipated itself. However unconstitutional therefore the royal *veto* on a Bill presented by the Lords and Commons may be deemed

* Poet. Works, Vol. ii. p. 258.—Ed.

in all ordinary cases, this is clearly an exception. For it is no additional power conferred on the King; but a limit imposed on him by the constitution itself for its own safety. Previously to the ceremonial act, which announces him the only lawful and sovereign head of both the Church and the State, the oath is administered to him religiously as the representative person and crowned majesty of the nation. Religiously, I say;—for the mind of the nation, existing only as an idea, can act distinguishably on the ideal powers alone—that is, on the reason and conscience.

It only remains then to determine what it is to which the Coronation oath obliges the conscience of the King. And this may be best done by considering what in reason and in conscience the nation had a right to impose. Now that the nation had a right to decide for the King's conscience and reason, and for the reason and conscience of all his successors, and of his and their counsellors and ministers, laic and ecclesiastic, on questions of theology, and controversies of faith,—for example, that it is not allowable in directing our thoughts to a departed Saint, the Virgin Mary for instance, to say *Ora pro nobis, beata Virgo*, though there might, peradventure, be no harm in saying, *Oret pro nobis, precor, beata Virgo*; whether certain books are to be holden canonical; whether the text, *They shall be saved as through fire*, refers to a purgatorial process in the body, or during the interval between its dis-

solution and the day of judgment; whether the words, *This is my body*, are to be understood literally, and if so, whether it is by consubstantiation with, or transubstantiation of, bread and wine; and that the members of both Houses of Parliament, together with the Privy Councillors and all the Clergy shall abjure and denounce the theory last mentioned—this I utterly deny. And if this were the whole and sole object and intention of the oath, however large the number might be of the persons who imposed or were notoriously favourable to the imposition, so far from recognizing the nation in their collective number, I should regard them as no other than an aggregate of intolerant mortals, from bigotry and presumption forgetful of their fallibility, and not less ignorant of their own rights than callous to those of succeeding generations. If the articles of faith therein disclaimed and denounced were the substance and proper intention of the oath, and not to be understood, as in all common sense they ought to be, as temporary marks, because the known accompaniments, of other and legitimate grounds of disqualification; and which only in reference to these, and only as long as they implied their existence, were fit objects of political interference; it would be as impossible for me, as for the late Mr. Canning, to attach any such sanctity to the Coronation oath as should prevent it from being superannuated in times of clearer light and less heat. But that these theological articles, and the

open profession of the same by a portion of the King's subjects as parts of their creed, are not the evils which it is the true and legitimate purpose of the oath to preclude, and which constitute and define its obligation on the royal conscience ; and what the real evils are, that do indeed disqualify for offices of national trust, and give the permanent obligatory character to the engagement—this,—in which I include the exposition of the essential characters of the Christian or Catholic Church ; and of a very different Church, which assumes the name ; and the application of the premisses to an appreciation on principle of the late Bill, now the law of the land,—will occupy the remaining portion of the volume.

And now I may be permitted to look back on the road we have passed : in the course of which, I have placed before the reader a small part indeed of what might, on a suitable occasion, be profitably said ; but it is all that for my present purpose I deem it necessary to say respecting three out of the five themes that were to form the subjects of the first part of this little work. But let me avail myself of the pause to repeat my apology to the reader for any *extra* trouble I may have imposed on him, by employing the same term, the State, in two senses ; though I flatter myself I have in each instance so guarded it as to leave scarcely the possibility that a moderately attentive reader should understand the word in one sense, when I had meant it in the other, or confound the State as a

whole and comprehending the Church, with the State as one of the two constituent parts, and in contradistinction from the Church.

BRIEF RECAPITULATION.

First then, I have given briefly but, I trust, with sufficient clearness, the right idea of a State, or body politic ; the word State being here synonymous with a constituted realm, kingdom, commonwealth, or nation ; that is, where the integral parts, classes, or orders are so balanced, or interdependent, as to constitute, more or less, a moral unit, an organic whole ; and as arising out of the idea of a State I have added the idea of a Constitution, as the informing principle of its coherence and unity. But in applying the above to our own kingdom (and with this qualification the reader is requested to understand me as speaking in all the following remarks), it was necessary to observe, and I willingly avail myself of this opportunity to repeat the observation,—that the Constitution, in its widest sense as the constitution of the realm, arose out of, and in fact consisted in, the co-existence of the constitutional State (in the second acceptation of the term) with the King as its head, and of the Church, that is, the National Church, with the King likewise as its head ; and lastly of the King, as the head and majesty of the whole nation. The reader was cautioned therefore not to confound

it with either of its constituent parts ; that he must first master the true idea of each of these severally ; and that in the *synopsis* or conjunction of the three the idea of the English constitution, the constitution of the realm, will rise of itself before him. And in aid of this purpose and following this order, I have given according to my best judgment, first, the idea of the State in the second or special sense of the term ; of the State-legislature ; and of the two constituent orders, the Landed, with its two classes, the Major Barons, and the Franklins ; and the Personal, consisting of the mercantile, or commercial, the manufacturing, the distributive and the professional ; these two orders corresponding to the two great all-including interests of the State,—the Landed, namely, to the permanence,—the Personal to the progression. The possessions of both orders, taken collectively, form the* Proprietage of the realm. In contradistinction from this and as my second theme, I have explained (and it being the principal object of this work, more diffusely) the Nationalty, its nature and

* To convey his meaning precisely is a debt which an Author owes to his readers. He therefore who, to escape the charge of pedantry, will rather be misunderstood than startle a fastidious critic with an unusual term, may be compared to the man who should pay his creditor in base or counterfeit coin, when he had gold or silver ingots in his possession, to the precise amount of the debt ; and this under the pretence of their unshapeliness and want of the mint impression.

purposes, and the duties and qualifications of its trustees and functionaries. In the same sense in which I at once oppose and conjoin the Nationalty to the Proprietage; in the same *antithesis* and conjunction I use and understand the phrase, Church and State. Lastly, I have essayed to determine the constitutional idea of the Crown, and its relations to the nation, to which I have added a few sentences on the relations of the nation to the State.

To the completion of this first part of my undertaking, two subjects still remain to be treated of—and to each of these I shall devote a small section; the title of the first being, “On the idea of the Christian Church;” that of the other, “On a third Church:” the name of which I withhold for the present, in the expectation of deducing it by contrast from the contradistinguishing characters of the former.

IDEA OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

“ WE, (said Luther), tell our Lord God plainly: If he will have his Church, then he must look how to maintain and defend it; for we can neither uphold nor protect it. And well for us, that it is so! For in case we could, or were able to defend it, we should become the proudest asses under heaven. Who is the Church’s protector, that hath promised to be with her to the end, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her? Kings, Diets, Parliaments, Lawyers? Marry no such cattle.”—*Luther’s Table Talk with additions.*—Ed.

IDEA OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE practical conclusion from our inquiries respecting the origin and idea of the National Church, the paramount end and purpose of which is the continued and progressive civilization of the community, (*emollit mores nec sinit esse feros*), was this: that though many things may be conceived of a tendency to diminish the fitness of particular men, or of a particular class, to be chosen as trustees and functionaries of the same; though there may be many points more or less adverse to the perfection of the establishment; there are yet but two absolute disqualifications: namely, allegiance to a foreign power, or an acknowledgment of any other visible head of the Church but our sovereign lord the King; and compulsory celibacy in connection with, and dependence on, a foreign and extra-national head. I now call the reader to a different contemplation, to the idea of the Christian Church.

Of the Christian Church, I say, not of Christianity. To the ascertainment and enucleation of the latter, of the great redemptive process which began in the separation of light from Chaos (*Hades*, or

the indistinction), and has its end in the union of life with God, the whole summer and autumn and now commenced winter of my life have been dedicated. *Hic labor, hoc opus est*, on which alone I rest my hope that I shall be found not to have lived altogether in vain. Of the Christian Church only, and of this no further than is necessary for the distinct understanding of the National Church, it is my purpose now to speak : and for this purpose it will be sufficient to enumerate the essential characters by which the Christian Church is distinguished.

I.—The Christian Church is not a kingdom, realm, (*royaume*), or state, (*sensu latiori*) of the world, that is, of the aggregate or total number of the kingdoms, states, realms, or bodies politic, (these words being, as far as the present argument is concerned, perfectly synonymous), into which civilized man is distributed ; and which, collectively taken, constitute the civilized world. The Christian Church, I say, is no state, kingdom, or realm of this world ; nor is it an estate of any such realm, kingdom or state ; but it is the appointed opposite to them all collectively—the sustaining, correcting, befriending opposite of the World ; the compensating counterforce to the inherent* and inevitable evils.

* It is not without pain that I have advanced this position, without the accompanying proofs and documents which it may be thought to require, and without the elucidations which I am sure it deserves ; but which are precluded alike by the purpose and the limits of the present work. I will,

and defects of the State, as a State, and without reference to its better or worse construction as a particular state; while whatever is beneficent and humanizing in the aims, tendencies, and proper objects of the State, the Christian Church collects in itself as in a *focus*, to radiate them back in a higher quality; or to change the metaphor, it completes and strengthens the edifice of the State, without interference or commixture, in the mere act of laying and securing its own foundations. And for these services the Church of Christ asks of the State neither wages nor dignities. She asks only protection and to be let alone. These indeed she demands; but even these only on the ground that there is nothing in her constitution or in her discipline inconsistent with the interests of the State, nothing resistant or impedimental to the State in the exercise of its rightful powers, in the fulfilment of its appropriate duties, or in the effectuation of its legitimate objects. It is a fundamental principle of all legislation, that the State shall leave the largest portion of personal free agency to each of its citizens, that is compatible with the free agency of all,

however, take this opportunity of earnestly recommending to such of my readers as understand German, Lessing's *Ernst und Falk: Gespräche für Freymäurer*. They will find it in Vol. vii. of the Leipsic edition of Lessing's Works. I know no finer example of the point, elegance, and exquisite, yet effortless, precision and conciseness of Lessing's philosophic and controversial writings. I remember nothing that is at once like them, and equal to them, but the Provincial Letters of Pascal.

and not subversive of the ends of its own existence as a state. And though a negative, it is a most important distinctive, character of the Church of Christ, that she asks nothing for her members as Christians, which they are not already entitled to demand as citizens and subjects.

II.—The Christian Church is not a secret community. In the once current (and well worthy to be re-issued) terminology of our elder divines, it is objective in its nature and purpose, not mystic or subjective, that is, not like reason or the court of conscience, existing only in and for the individual. Consequently the Church here spoken of is not *the kingdom of God which is within, and which cometh not with observation,** but is most observable,—*a city built on a hill*, and not to be hid—an institution consisting of visible and public communities. In one sentence it is the Church visible and militant under Christ. And this visibility, this publicity, is its second distinctive character.

III.—The third character reconciles the two preceding and gives the condition, under which their co-existence in the same subject becomes possible. Antagonist forces are necessarily of the same kind. It is an old rule of logic, that only concerning two subjects of the same kind can it be properly said that they are opposites. *Inter res heterogeneas non datur oppositio* ; that is, contraries cannot be

* Luke xvii. 21—20. See ib. xxi. 28. 31.—Ed.

opposites. Alike in the primary and the metaphorical use of the word, rivals (*rivales*) are those only who inhabit the opposite banks of the same stream.

Now, in conformity to the first character, the Christian Church is not to be considered as a counterpole to any particular State, the word being here taken in the largest sense. Still less can it, like the National Clerisy, be opposed to the State in the narrower sense. The Christian Church, as such, has no Nationalty entrusted to its charge. It forms no counter-balance to the collective Heritage of the realm. The phrase, Church and State, has a sense and a propriety in reference to the National Church alone. The Church of Christ cannot be placed in this conjunction and *antithesis* without forfeiting the very name of Christian. The true and only contra-position of the Christian Church is to the World. Her paramount aim and object, indeed, is another world, not a world to come exclusively, but likewise another world that now is,* and to the concerns of which alone the epithet spiritual can, without a mischievous abuse of the word, be applied. But as the necessary consequence and accompaniments of the means by which she seeks to attain this especial end, and as a collateral object, it is her office to counteract the evils that result by a common necessity from all bodies politic, the system or aggregate of which is the world. And observe that the *nisus*, or counter-agency, of

* See Appendix to this Treatise.—Ed.

the Christian Church is against the evil results only, and not (directly, at least, or by primary intention) against the defective institutions that may have caused or aggravated them.

But on the other hand, by virtue of the second character, the Christian Church is to exist in every kingdom and state of the world, in the form of public communities, and is to exist as a real and ostensible power. The consistency of the first and second character depends on, and is fully effected by, the third character of the Church of Christ ; namely,—

The absence of any visible head or sovereign, and by the non-existence, nay the utter preclusion, of any local or personal centre of unity, of any single source of universal power. This fact may be thus illustrated. Kepler and Newton, substituting the idea of the infinite for the conception of a finite and determined world, assumed in the Ptolemaic astronomy, superseded and drove out the notion of a one central point or body of the universe. Finding a centre in every point of matter and an absolute circumference no where, they explained at once the unity and the distinction that co-exist throughout the creation by focal instead of central bodies : the attractive and restraining power of the sun or focal orb, in each particular system, supposing and resulting from an actual power, present in all and over all, throughout an indeterminable multitude of systems. And this, demonstrated as it has been by science, and verified

by observation, we rightly name the true system of the heavens. And even such is the scheme and true idea of the Christian Church. In the primitive times, and as long as the churches retained the form given them by the Apostles and Apostolic men, every community, or in the words of a Father of the second century, (for the pernicious fashion of assimilating the Christian to the Jewish, as afterwards to the Pagan, ritual by false analogies was almost coeval with the Church itself,) every altar had its own bishop, every flock its own pastor, who derived his authority immediately from Christ, the universal Shepherd, and acknowledged no other superior than the same Christ, speaking by his spirit in the unanimous decision of any number of bishops or elders, according to his promise, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.**

* Questions of dogmatic divinity do not enter into the purpose of this work; and I am even anxious not to give it a theological character. It is, however, within the scope of my argument to observe that, as may be incontrovertibly proved by other equivalent declarations of our Lord, this promise is not confined to houses of worship and prayer-meetings exclusively. And though I cannot offer the same justification for what follows, yet the interest and importance of the subject will, I trust, excuse me if I remark that, even in reference to meetings for divine worship, the true import of these gracious, soul-awing, words is too generally overlooked. It is not the comments or harangues of unlearned and fanatical preachers that I have in my mind, but sermons of great and deserved celebrity, and divines whose learning, well-regulated zeal, and sound Scriptural views are as ho-

Hence the unitive relation of the churches to each other, and of each to all, being equally actual

nourable to the Church, as their piety, beneficence, and blameless life, are to the Christian name, when I say that passages occur which might almost lead one to conjecture that the authors had found the words, "I will come and join you," instead of, *I am in the midst of you*,—passages from which it is at least difficult not to infer that they had interpreted the promise, as of a corporal co-presence, instead of a spiritual immanence (ὅτι μένει ἐν ἡμῖν) as of an individual coming in or down, and taking a place, as soon as the required number of petitioners was completed; as if, in short, this presence, this actuation of the I AM, (εἶμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν) were an after-consequence, an accidental and separate result and reward of the contemporaneous and contiguous worshipping—and not the total act itself, of which the spiritual Christ, one and the same in all the faithful, is the originating and perfective focal unity. Even as the physical life is in each limb and organ of the body, all in every part; but is manifested as life, by being one in all and thus making all one: even so with Christ, our spiritual life. He is in each true believer, in his solitary prayer and during his silent communion in the watches of the night, no less than in the congregation of the faithful; but he manifests his indwelling presence more characteristically, with especial evidence, when many, convened in his name, whether for prayer or for council, do through him become one.

I would that these preceding observations were as little connected with the main subject of this volume, as to some they will appear to be. But as the mistaking of symbols and analogies for metaphors has been a main occasion and support of the worst errors in Protestantism; so the understanding the same symbols in a literal or phenomenal sense, notwithstanding the most earnest warnings against it, the most express declarations of the folly and danger of interpreting sensually what was delivered of objects super-

indeed, but likewise equally ideal, that is, mystic and supersensual, as the relation of the whole

sensual—this was the rank wilding, on which *the prince of this world*, the lust of power and worldly aggrandizement, was enabled to graft, one by one, the whole branchery of Papal superstition and imposture. A truth not less important might be conveyed by reversing the image;—by representing the Papal monarchy as the stem or trunk circulating a poison-snap through the branches successively grafted thereon, the previous and natural fruit of which was at worst only mawkish and innutritious. Yet among the dogmas or articles of belief that contra-distinguish the Roman from the Reformed Churches, the most important and, in their practical effects and consequences, the most pernicious I cannot but regard as refracted and distorted truths, profound ideas sensualized into idols, or at the lowest rate lofty and affecting imaginations, safe while they remained general and indefinite, but debased and rendered noxious by their application in detail: for example, the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, or the sympathy between all the members of the universal Church, which death itself doth not interrupt, exemplified in St. Anthony and the cure of sore eyes, St. Boniface and success in brewing, and other such follies. What the same doctrines now are, used as the pretexts and shaped into the means and implements of priestly power and revenue: or rather, what the whole scheme is of Romish rites, doctrines, institutions, and practices in their combined and full operation, where it exists in undisputed sovereignty, neither repressed by the prevalence, nor modified by the light, of a purer faith, nor holden in check by the consciousness of Protestant neighbours and lookers-on;—this is a question which cannot be kept too distinct from the former. And, as at the risk of passing for a secret favourer of superannuated superstitions, I have spoken out my thoughts of the Roman theology, so, and at a far more serious risk of being denounced as an intolerant bigot, I will declare what,

Church to its one invisible Head, the Church with and under Christ, as a one kingdom or state,

after a two years' residence in exclusively Popish countries, and in situations and under circumstances that afforded more than ordinary means of acquainting myself with the workings and the proceeds of the machinery, was the impression left on my mind as to the effects and influences of the Romish (most un-Catholic) religion,—not as even according to its own canons and authorized decisions it ought to be; but, as it actually and practically exists. This impression, and the convictions grounded thereon, which have assuredly not been weakened by the perusal of Mr. Blanco White's most affecting statements, and by the recent history of Spain and Portugal, I cannot convey more satisfactorily to myself than by repeating the answer, which I long since returned to the same question put by a friend, that is to say,—

When I contemplate the whole system, as it affects the great fundamental principles of morality, the *terra firma*, as it were, of our humanity; then trace its operation on the sources and conditions of national strength and well-being; and lastly, consider its woeful influences on the innocence and sanctity of the female mind and imagination, on the faith and happiness, the gentle fragranciness and unnoticed ever-present verdure of domestic life,—I can with difficulty avoid applying to it what the Rabbins fable of the fratricide Cain, after the curse: that *the firm earth trembled wherever he strode, and the grass turned black beneath his feet.*

Indeed, if my memory does not cheat me, some of the mystic divines, in their fond humour of allegorizing, tell us that in *Gen.* iv. 3—8. is correctly narrated the history of the first apostate Church, that began by sacrificing amiss, appropriating the fruit of *the ground* or temporal possessions under spiritual pretexts; and ended in slaying the shepherd brother who brought *the firstlings of his fold*, holy and without blemish, to the Great Shepherd, and presented them as *new creatures*, before the Lord and Owner of the flocks.

is hidden: while in all its several component monads, (the particular visible churches I mean,) Cæsar receiving the things that are Cæsar's, and confronted by no rival Cæsar, by no authority, which existing locally, temporally, and in the person of a fellow mortal, must be essentially of the same kind with his own, notwithstanding any attempt to belie its true nature under the perverted and contradictory name of spiritual, sees only so many loyal groups, who, claiming no peculiar rights, make themselves known to him as Christians, only by the more scrupulous and exemplary performance of their duties as citizens and subjects. And here let me add a few sentences on the use, abuse, and misuse of the phrase, spiritual power. In the only appropriate sense of the words, spiritual power is a power that acts on the spirits of men. Now the spirit of a man, or the spiritual part of our being, is the intelligent will: or (to speak less abstractly) it is the capability, with which the Father of Spirits hath endowed man of being determined to action by the ultimate ends, which the reason alone can present. The understanding, which derives all its materials from the senses, can dictate purposes only, that is, such ends as are in their turn means to other ends. The ultimate ends, by which the will is to be determined, and by which alone the will, not corrupted, *the spirit made perfect*, would be determined, are called, in relation to the reason, moral ideas. Such are the ideas of the eternal, the good, the true, the

holy, the idea of God as the absoluteness and reality (or real ground) of all these, or as the Supreme Spirit in which all these substantially are, and are one : lastly, the idea of the responsible will itself ; of duty, of guilt, or evil in itself without reference to its outward and separable consequences.

A power, therefore, that acts on the appetites and passions, which we possess in common with the beasts, by motives derived from the senses and sensations has no pretence to the name ; nor can it without the grossest abuse of the word be called a spiritual power. Whether the man expects the *auto de fe*, the fire and faggots, with which he is threatened, to take place at Lisbon or Smithfield, or in some dungeon in the centre of the earth, makes no difference in the kind of motive by which he is influenced ; nor of course in the nature of the power which acts on his passions by means of it. It would be strange indeed if ignorance and superstition, the dense and rank fogs that most strangle and suffocate the light of the spirit in man, should constitute a spirituality in the power which takes advantage of them !

This is a gross abuse of the term, spiritual. The following, sanctioned as it is by custom and statute, yet (speaking exclusively as a philologist and without questioning its legality) I venture to point out as a misuse of the term. Our great Church dignitaries sit in the Upper House of the Convocation as Prelates of the National Church : and as Prelates may exercise ecclesiastical power. In

the House of Lords they sit as Barons and by virtue of the baronies which, much against the will of those haughty prelates, our Kings forced upon them: and as such, they exercise a Parliamentary power. As Bishops of the Church of Christ only can they possess, or exercise (and God forbid! I should doubt, that as such, many of them do faithfully exercise) a spiritual power, which neither King can give, nor King and Parliament take away. As Christian Bishops, they are spiritual pastors, by power of the spirits ruling the flocks committed to their charge; but they are temporal Peers and Prelates.

The Fourth Character of the Christian Church, and a necessary consequence of the first and third, is its universality. It is neither Anglican, Gallican, nor Roman, neither Latin nor Greek. Even the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England is a less safe expression than the Church of Christ in England: though the Catholic Church in England, or (what would be still better,) the Catholic Church under Christ throughout Great Britain and Ireland is justifiable and appropriate: for through the presence of its only Head and Sovereign, entire in each and one in all, the Church Universal is spiritually perfect in every true Church, and of course in any number of such Churches, of which from circumstance of place, or the community of country or of language, we have occasion to speak collectively. I have already, here and elsewhere, observed, and scarcely a day

passes without some occasion to repeat the observation, that an equivocal term, or a word with two or more different meanings, is never quite harmless. Thus, it is at least an inconvenience in our language that the term church, instead of being confined to its proper sense, *kirk*, *ædes Kyriacæ*, or the Lord's house, should likewise be the word by which our forefathers rendered the *Ecclesia*, or the ἑκκλητικοί, or *evocati*, the called out of the world, named collectively; and likewise our term for the clerical establishment. To the Called at Rome—to the Church of Christ at Corinth, or in Philippi—such was the language of the Apostolic age; and the change since then has been no improvement. The true Church of England is the National Church or Clerisy. There exists, God be thanked! a Catholic and Apostolic Church in England: and I thank God also for the constitutional and ancestral Church of England.

These are the four distinctions, or peculiar and essential marks, by which the Church with Christ as its head is distinguished from the National Church, and separated from every possible counterfeit, that has, or shall have, usurped its name. And as an important comment on the same, and in confirmation of the principle which I have attempted to establish, I earnestly recommend for the reader's perusal the following transcript from Henry More's *Modest Inquiry, or True Idea of Antichristianism*.

“We will suppose some one prelate, who had got the start of the rest, to put in for the title and

authority of Universal Bishop: and for the obtaining of this sovereignty, he will first pretend that it is unfit that the visible Catholic Church, being one, should not be united under one visible head, which reasoning, though it makes a pretty shew at first sight, will yet, being closely looked into, vanish into smoke. For this is but a quaint concinnity urged in behalf of an impossibility. For the erecting such an office for one man, which no one man in the world is able to perform, implies that to be possible which is indeed impossible. Whence it is plain that the head will be too little for the body; which therefore will be a piece of mischievous asymmetry or inconcinnity also. No one mortal can be a competent head for that Church which has a right to be Catholic, and to overspread the face of the whole earth. There can be no such head but Christ, who is not mere man, but God in the Divine humanity, and therefore present with every part of the Church, and every member thereof, at what distance soever. But to set some one mortal Bishop over the whole Church, were to suppose that great Bishop of our spirit absent from it, who has promised that he *will be with her to the end of the world*. Nor does the Church Catholic on earth lose her unity thereby. For rather hereby only is or can she be one.*

* As rationally might it be pretended that it is not the life, the *rector spiritus præsens per totum et in omni parte*, but the crown of the skull, or some one convolute of the brain, that causes and preserves the unity of the body natural.

“Such and so futile is the first pretence. But if this will not serve the turn, there is another in reserve. And notwithstanding the demonstrated impossibility of the thing, still there must be one visible head of the Church universal, the successor and vicar of Christ, for the slaking of controversies, for the determination of disputed points! We will not stop here to expose the weakness of the argument (not alas! peculiar to the sophists of Rome, nor employed in support of Papal infallibility only), that this or that must be, and consequently is, because sundry inconveniences would result from the want of it; and this without considering whether these inconveniences have been prevented or removed by its alleged presence; whether they do not continue in spite of this pretended remedy or antidote; whether these inconveniences were intended by Providence to be precluded, and not rather for wise purposes permitted to continue; and lastly, whether the remedy may not be worse than the disease, like the sugar of lead administered by the empiric, who cured a fever fit by exchanging it for the dead palsy. Passing by this sophism, therefore, it is sufficient to reply that all points necessary are so plain and so widely known, that it is impossible that a Christian, who seeks those aids which the true Head of the Church has promised shall never be sought in vain, should err therein from lack of knowing better. And those who, from defects of head or heart, are blind to this widely diffused light, and who neither seek nor wish those aids, are still less likely to be in-

fluenced by a minor and derivative authority. But for other things, whether ceremonies or conceits, whether matters of discipline or of opinion, their diversity does not at all break the unity of the outward and visible Church, as long as they do not subvert the fundamental laws of Christ's kingdom nor contradict the terms of admission into his Church, nor contravene the essential characters by which it subsists and is distinguished as the Christian Catholic Church."

To these sentiments, borrowed from one of the most philosophical of our learned elder divines, I have only to add an observation as suggested by them;—that as many and fearful mischiefs have ensued from the confusion of the Christian with the National Church, so have many and grievous practical errors, and much un-Christian intolerance, arisen from confounding the outward and visible Church of Christ with the spiritual and invisible Church, known only to the Father of all Spirits. The perfection of the former is to afford every opportunity, and to present no obstacle, to a gradual advancement of the latter. The different degrees of progress, the imperfections, errors and accidents of false perspective, which lessen indeed with our advance—our spiritual advance—but to a greater or lesser amount are inseparable from all progression; these, the interpolated half-truths of the twilight, through which every soul must pass from darkness to the spiritual sunrise, belong to the visible Church as objects of hope, patience, and charity alone.

ON THE
THIRD POSSIBLE CHURCH,
OR THE
CHURCH OF ANTICHRIST.

Ecclesia Cattolica non, ma il Papismo denunciavamo, perchè suggerito dal interesse, perchè fortificato dalla menzogna, perchè radicato dal piu abominevole despotismo, perchè contrario al diritto e ai titoli incommunicabili di Cristo, ed alla tranquillità d'ogni Chiesa e d'ogni Stato.—SPANZOTTI.

Thus, on the depluming of the Pope, every bird had his own feather : in the partage whereof, what he had gotten by sacrilege, was restored to Christ ; what by usurpation, was given to the King, the (National) Church and the State ; what by oppression, was remitted to each particular Christian.—*Fuller's Church History of Britain, Book v.*

ON THE CHURCH,

NEITHER NATIONAL NOR UNIVERSAL.

IF our forefathers were annoyed with the cant of over-boiling zeal, arising out of the belief, that the Pope is Antichrist, and likewise (*sexu mutato*) the Harlot of Babylon: we are more endangered by the twaddle of humid charity, which (some years ago at least) used to drizzle, a something between mist and small rain, from the higher region of our Church atmosphere. It was sanctioned, I mean, both in the pulpit and the senate by sundry dignitaries, whose horror of Jacobinism during the then panic of property led them to adopt the principles and language of Laud and his faction. And once more the Church of Rome, in contrast with Protestant dissenters, became "a right dear, though erring sister." And the heaviest charge against the Romish Pontificate was, that the Italian politics and nepotism of a series of Popes had converted so great a good into an intolerable grievance. We were reminded that Grotius and Leibnitz had regarded a visible head of the Catholic Church as most desirable; that they, and with them more than one Primate of our own Church, yearned for a conciliating settlement of the differ-

ences between the Romish and Protestant Churches; and mainly in order that there might exist really, as well as nominally, a visible head of the Church Universal, a fixt centre of unity. Of course the tenet that the Pope was in any sense the Antichrist predicted by Paul was decried as fanatical and Puritanical cant.

Now it is a duty of Christian charity to presume that the men, who in the present day employ this language, are, or believe themselves to be, Christians; and that they do not privately think that St. Paul, in the two celebrated passages of his First and Second Epistles to the Church at Thessalonica, (1. iv., 13—18; 11. ii. 1—12), practised a *ruse de guerre*, and meant only by throwing the fulfilment beyond the life of the present generation, and by a terrific detail of the horrors and calamities that were to precede it, to damp the impatience, and silence the objections, excited by the expectation and the delay of our Lord's personal re-appearance. Again: as the persons, of whom I have been speaking, are well educated men and men of sober minds, it may be safely taken for granted that they do not understand by Antichrist any nondescript monster, or suppose it to be the proper name or designation of some one individual man or devil exclusively. The Christians of the second century, sharing in a delusion that prevailed over the whole Roman Empire, believed that Nero would come to life again, and be Antichrist: and I have been informed that a learned clergy-

man of our own times, endowed with the gift of prophecy by assiduous study of the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse, asserts the same thing of Napoleon Buonaparte.

But, as before said, it would be calumnious to attribute such pitiable fanaticism to the parties here in question. And to them I venture to affirm that if by Antichrist be meant—what alone can rationally be meant—a power in the Christian Church, which in the name of Christ, and at once pretending and usurping his authority, is systematically subversive of the essential and distinguishing characters and purposes of the Christian Church: then, if the Papacy, and the Romish hierarchy as far as it is Papal, be not Antichrist, the guilt of schism in its most aggravated form lies on the authors of the Reformation. For nothing less than this could have justified so tremendous a rent in the Catholic Church with all its foreseen most calamitous consequences. And so Luther himself thought; and so thought Wicliff before him. Only in the conviction that Christianity itself was at stake,—that the cause was that of Christ in conflict with Antichrist,—could, or did, even the lion-hearted Luther with unquailed spirit avow to himself;—I bring not peace, but a sword into the world.

It is my full conviction, a conviction formed after a long and patient study of the subject in detail;—and if in support of this competence I only add that I have read, and with care, the

Summa Theologiæ of Aquinas, and compared the system with the statements of Arnauld and Bossuet, the number of those who in the present much-reading, but not very hard-reading, age would feel themselves entitled to dispute my claim, will not, perhaps, be very formidable ;—it is, I repeat, my full conviction that the rights and doctrines, the *agenda et credenda*, of the Roman Catholics, could we separate them from the adulterating ingredients combined with, and the use made of, them by the sacerdotal Mamelukes of the Romish monarchy, for the support of the Papacy and Papal hierarchy, would neither have brought about, nor have sufficed to justify, the convulsive separation under Leo X. Nay, that if they were fairly, and in the light of a sound philosophy, compared with either of the two main divisions of Protestantism, as it now exists in this country, that is, with the fashionable doctrines and interpretations of the Arminian and Grotian school on the one hand, and with the tenets and language of the modern Calvinists on the other, an enlightened disciple of John and of Paul would be perplexed which of the three to prefer as the least unlike the profound and sublime system he had learned from his great masters. And in this comparison I leave out of view the extreme sects of Protestantism, whether of the frigid or of the torrid zone, Socinian or fanatic.

During the summer of last year, I made the tour of Holland, Flanders, and up the Rhine as

far as Bergen, and among the few notes then taken, I find the following:—"Every fresh opportunity of examining the Roman Catholic religion on the spot, every new fact that presents itself to my notice, increases my conviction that its immediate basis and the true grounds of its continuance are to be found in the wickedness, ignorance, and wretchedness of the many; and that the producing and continuing cause of this deplorable state is, that it is the interest of the Romish priesthood that so it should remain, as the surest, and, in fact, only support of the Papal sovereignty and influence against the civil powers, and the reforms wished for by the more enlightened governments, as well as by all the better informed and wealthier class of Roman Catholics generally. And as parts of the same policy, and equally indispensable to the interests of the Papal Crown, are the ignorance, grossness, excessive number and poverty of the lower ecclesiastics themselves, the religious orders included. When I say the Pope, I understand the Papal hierarchy, which is, in truth, the dilated Pope: and in this sense only, and not of the individual priest or friar at Rome, can a wise man be supposed to use the word."—Cologne, July 2, 1828.

I feel it as no small comfort and confirmation to know that the same view of the subject is taken, the same conviction entertained, by a large and increasing number in the Roman Catholic communion itself, in Germany, France, Italy, and

even in Spain ; and that no inconsiderable portion of this number consists of men who are not only pious as Christians, but zealous as Roman Catholics ; and who would contemplate with as much horror a reform from their Church, as they look with earnest aspirations and desires towards a reform in the Church. Proof of this may be found in the learned work intituled *Disordini morali e politici della Corte di Roma*—evidently the work of a zealous Romanist and from the ecclesiastical erudition displayed in the volumes, probably a priest. Nay, from the angry aversion with which the foul heresies of those sons of perdition, Luther and Calvin, are mentioned, and his very faint and qualified censure of the persecution of the Albigenses and Waldenses, I am obliged to infer that the writer's attachment to his communion was zealous even to bigotry.

The disorders denounced by him are :—

1. The pretension of the Papacy to temporal power and sovereignty, directly or as the pretended consequence of spiritual dominion ; and as furnishing occasion to this, even the retention of the primacy in honour over all other Bishops, after Rome had ceased to be the metropolis of Christendom, is noticed as a subject of regret.
2. The boast of Papal infallibility.
3. The derivation of the Episcopal power from the Papal, and the dependence of Bishops on the Pope, rightly named the evil of a false centre.
4. The right of exercising authority in other dioceses besides that of Rome.

5. The privilege of reserving to himself the greater causes—*le cause maggiori*.

6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Of conferring any and every benefice in the territory of other Bishops; of exacting the Annates, or First Fruits; of receiving appeals; with the power of subjecting all churches in all parts, to the ecclesiastical discipline of the church of Rome; and lastly, the dispensing power of the Pope.

11. The Pope's pretended superiority to an Ecumenical Council.

12. The exclusive power of canonizing Saints.

Now, of the twelve abuses here enumerated, it is remarkable that ten, if not eleven, are but expansions of the one grievance—the Papal power as the centre, and the Pope as the one visible head and sovereign of the Christian Church.

The writer next enumerates the personal instruments of these abuses:—1. The Cardinals. 2. The excessive number of the priests and other ecclesiastics. 3. The Regulars, Mendicant Orders, Jesuits, and the rest. Lastly, the means employed by the Papacy to found and preserve its usurped power, namely:—

1. The institution of a Chair of Canon Law, in the University of Bologna, the introduction of Gratian's Canons, and the forged decisions. 2. The prohibition of books, wherever published. 3. The Inquisition; and 4. The tremendous power of excommunication;—the last two in their temporal inflictions and consequences equalling, or rather greatly exceeding, the utmost extent of the puni-

tive power exercised by the temporal sovereign and the civil magistrate, armed with the sword of the criminal law.

It is observable that the most efficient of all the means adopted by the Roman Pontiffs, namely, the celibacy of the clergy, is omitted by this writer;—a sufficient proof that he was neither a Protestant nor a philosopher, which in the Italian states, and, indeed, in most Romish Catholic countries, is the name of courtesy for an infidel.

One other remark in justification of the tenet avowed in this chapter, and I shall have said all I deem it necessary to say on the third form of a Church. That erection of a temporal monarch under the pretence of a spiritual authority, which was not possible in Christendom but by the extinction or entrancement of the spirit of Christianity, and which has therefore been only partially attained by the Papacy—this was effected in full by Mohammed, to the establishment of the most extensive and complete despotism, that ever warred against civilization and the interests of humanity. And had Mohammed retained the name of Christianity, had he deduced his authority from Christ as his principal, and described his own Khalifate and that of his successors as vicarious, there can be no doubt that to the Mussulman theocracy, embodied in the different Mohammedan dynasties, would belong the name and attributes of Antichrist. But the Prophet of Arabia started out of Paganism an unbaptized Pagan. He was no traitor in the Church, but an enemy from without, who levied war against

its outward and formal existence, and is, therefore, not chargeable with apostasy from a faith which he had never acknowledged, or from a Church to which he had never appertained. Neither in the Prophet nor in his system, therefore, can we find the predicted Antichrist, that is, a usurped power in the Church itself, which, in the name of Christ, and pretending his authority, systematically subverts or counteracts the peculiar aims and purposes of Christ's mission; and which, vesting in a mortal his incommunicable headship, destroys and exchanges for the contrary the essential contra-distinguishing marks or characters of his kingdom on earth. But apply it, as Wicliff, Luther,* and indeed all the first Reformers did to the Papacy, and Papal hierarchy; and we understand at once

* And (be it observed) without any reference to the Apocalypse, the canonical character of which Luther at first rejected, and never cordially received. And without the least sympathy with Luther's suspicions on this head, but on the contrary receiving this sublime poem as the undoubted work of the Apostolic age, and admiring in it the most perfect specimen of symbolic poetry, I am as little disposed to cite it on the present occasion;—convinced as I am and hope shortly to convince others, that in the whole series of its magnificent imagery there is not a single symbol, that can be even plausibly interpreted of either the Pope, the Turks, or Napoleon Buonaparte. Of charges not attaching to the moral character, there are few, if any, that I should be more anxious to avoid than that of being an affecter of paradoxes. But the dread of other men's thoughts shall not tempt me to withhold a truth, which the strange errors grounded on the contrary assumption render important. And in the thorough assurance of its truth I make the assertion, that the per-

the grounds of the great Apostle's premonition, that this Antichrist could not appear till after the

spicuity, and (with singularly few exceptions even for us) the uniform intelligibility, and close consecutive meaning, verse by verse, with the simplicity and grandeur of the plan, and the admirable ordonnance of the parts, are among the prominent beauties of the Apocalypse. Nor do I doubt that the substance and main argument of this drama *sui generis* (the Prometheus of Eschylus comes the nearest to the kind) were supplied by John the Evangelist: though I incline with Eusebius to find the poet himself in John, an Elder of the Church of Ephesus.

It may remove, or at least mitigate, the objections to the palliative language in which I have spoken of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, if I remind the reader that that Church dates its true origin from the Council of Trent. Widely differing from my valued and affectionately respected friend, the Rev. Edward Irving, in his interpretations of the Apocalypse and the Book of Daniel, and no less in his estimation of the latter, and while I honour his courage as a Christian minister, almost as much as I admire his eloquence as a writer, yet protesting against his somewhat too adventurous speculations on the Persons of the Trinity and the Body of our Lord,—I have great delight in extracting from his “*Sermons, Lectures, and Discourses,*” vol. iii. p. 870, and declaring my cordial assent to the following just observations: namely,—“that after the Reformation had taken firmer root, and when God had provided a purer Church, the Council of Trent did corroborate and decree into unalterable laws and constitutions of the Church all those impostures and innovations of the Roman See, which had been in a state of uncertainty, perhaps of permission or even of custom; but which every man till then had been free to testify against, and against which, in fact, there never wanted those in each successive generation who did testify. The Council of Trent ossified all those ulcers and blotches which had deformed the Church, and stamped the

dissolution of the Latin empire, and the extinction of the Imperial power in Rome—and the cause

hitherto much doubted and controverted prerogative of the Pope with the highest authority recognized in the Church.” Then first was the Catholic converted and particularized into the Romish Church, the Church of the Papacy.

Not less cordially do I concur with Mr Irving in his remark in the following page. For I too, “am free to confess and avow moreover, that I believe the soil of the Catholic Church, when Luther arose, was of a stronger mould, fitted to bear forest trees and cedars of God, than the soil of the Protestant Church in the times of Whitfield and Wesley, which (*though sown with the same word*) hath brought forth only stunted undergrowths, and creeping brushwood.” I too, “believe, that the faith of the Protestant Church in Britain had come to a lower ebb, and that it is even now at a lower ebb, than was the faith of the Papal Church when the Spirit of the Lord was able to quicken in it and draw forth out of it such men as Luther, and Melancthon, and Bullinger, Calvin, Bucer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and a score others whom I might name.”

And now, as the conclusion of this long note, let me be permitted to add a word or two of Edward Irving himself. That he possesses my unqualified esteem as a man, is only saying that I know him, and am neither blinded by envy nor bigotry. But my name has been brought into connexion with his on points that regard his public ministry; and he himself has publicly distinguished me as his friend on public grounds; and in proof of my confidence in his regard, I have not the least apprehension of forfeiting it by a frank declaration of what I think. Well, then! I have no faith in his prophesyings; small sympathy with his fulminations; and in certain peculiarities of his theological system as distinct from his religious principles I cannot see my way. But I hold withal, and not the less firmly for these discrepancies in our moods and judgments, that Edward Irving possesses more of the spirit and purposes of the first Reformers; that

why the Bishop of Constantinople, with all imaginable good wishes and disposition to do the same,

he has more of the head and heart, the life, the unction, and the genial power of Martin Luther than any man now alive ; yea, than any man of this and the last century. I see in Edward Irving a minister of Christ after the order of Paul ; and if the points, in which I think him either erroneous, or excessive and out of bounds, have been at any time a subject of serious regret with me, this regret has arisen principally or altogether from the apprehension of their narrowing the sphere of his influence, from the too great probability that they may furnish occasion or pretext for withholding or withdrawing many from those momentous truths, which the age especially needs, and for the enforcement of which he hath been so highly and especially gifted. Finally, my friend's intellect is too instinct with life, too potential, to remain stationary ; and assuming, as every satisfied believer must be supposed to do, the truth of my own views, I look forward with confident hope to a time when his soul shall have perfected her victory over the dead letter of the senses and its apparitions in the sensuous understanding ; when the halcyon Ideas shall have alit on the surging sea of his conceptions,

Which then shall quite forget to rave,
While birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave.

But to return from the personal, for which I have little taste at any time, and the contrary when it stands in any connection with myself ;—in order to the removal of one main impediment to the spiritual resuscitation of the Church it seems to me indispensable that in freedom and unfearing faith, with that courage which cannot but flow from the inward and life-like assurance, *that neither death, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord*, the rulers of our Church and our teachers of theology should meditate and draw the obvious,

could never raise the Patriarchate of the Greek empire into a Papacy. The Bishops of the other Rome became the slaves of the Ottoman, the moment they ceased to be the subjects of the Emperor.

I will now proceed to the Second Part, intended as a humble aid to a just appreciation of the measure, which under the auspices of Mr. Peel and the Duke of Wellington is now the law of the land. This portion of the volume was written while the mea-

though perhaps unpalatable, inferences from the following two or three plain truths :—First, that Christ, *the Spirit of Truth*, has promised to be with his Church even to the end :—secondly,—that Christianity was described as a tree to be raised from the seed, so described by Him who brought the seed from Heaven and first sowed it :—lastly,—that in the process of evolution there are in every plant growths of transitory use and duration. “The integuments of the seed, having fulfilled their destined office of protection, burst and decay. After the leaves have unfolded, the cotyledons, that had performed their functions, wither and drop off.”* The husk is a genuine growth of the staff of life ; yet we must separate it from the grain. It is, therefore, the cowardice of faithless superstition, if we stand in greater awe of the palpable interpolations of vermin ; if we shrink from the removal of excrescences that contain nothing of nobler parentage than maggots of moth or chafer. Let us cease to confound oak-apples with acorns ; still less, though gilded by the fashion of the day, let us mistake them for golden pippins or renates.†

* Smith's Introduction to Botany.

† The fruit from a pippin grafted on a pippin, is called a rennet, that is, renate (*re-natus*) or twice-born.

sure was yet *in prospectu* ; before even the particular clauses of the Bill were made public. It was written to explain and vindicate my refusal to sign a petition against any change in the scheme of law and policy established at the Revolution. But as the arguments are in no respect affected by this circumstance ; nay, as their constant reference to, and dependence on, one fixed general principle, which will at once explain both why I find the actual Bill so much less objectionable than I had feared, and yet so much less complete and satisfactory than I had wished, will be rendered more striking by the reader's consciousness that the arguments were suggested by no wish or purpose either of attacking or supporting any particular measure ; it has not been thought necessary or advisable to alter the form. Nay, if I am right in my judgment that the Act lately passed, if characterized by its own contents and capabilities, really is—with or without any such intention on the part of its framers—a stepping-stone, and nothing more ; whether to the subversion or to the more perfect establishment of the Constitution in Church and State, must be determined by other causes ;—the Act in itself being equally fit for either,—and offering the same facilities of transit to both friend and foe, though with a foreclosure to the first comer ;—if this be a right, as it is my sincere judgment and belief, there is a propriety in retaining the language of anticipation. *Mons adhuc parturit* : the *ridiculus mus* was but an omen.

PART II.

OR, AIDS TO A RIGHT APPRECIATION
OF THE ACT

ADMITTING ROMAN CATHOLICS TO SIT IN BOTH
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

Ἄμελει, μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἔνασπιδῶσομαι·
λέξω δ' ὑπὲρ Ἑτερογνωμόνων, ἃ μοι δοκεῖ·
καί τοι δέδοικα πολλά· τούς τε γὰρ τρόπους
τοὺς Συμπολίτων οἶδα χαίροντας σφόδρα,
εἴαν τις αὐτοὺς εὐλογῇ καὶ τὴν πόλιν,
ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών, καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα·
κάνταῦθα λαυθάνουσ' ἀπεμπολώμενοι.

Aristoph. Acharn. 367. &c. (leviter mutata.)

I ESTIMATE the beauty and benefit of what is called “ a harmony in fundamentals, and a conspiracy in the constituent parts of the body politic,” as highly as any one. If I met a man who should deny that an *imperium in imperio* was in itself an evil, I would not attempt to reason with him : he is too ignorant. Or if, conceding this, he should deny that the Romish Priesthood in Ireland does in fact constitute an *imperium in imperio*, I yet would not argue the matter with him : for he must be a bigot. But my objection to the argument is, that it is nothing to the purpose. And even so with regard to the arguments grounded on the dangerous errors and superstitions of the Romish Church. They may be all very true ; but they are nothing to the purpose. Without any loss they might pair off with “ the heroes of Trafalgar and Waterloo,” and “ our Catholic ancestors, to whom we owe our Magna Charta,” on the other side. If the prevention of an evil were the point in question, then indeed ! But the day of prevention has long passed by. The evil exists : and neither rope, sword, nor sermon, neither suppression nor conversion, can remove it. Not that I think slightingly of the last ; but even those who hope more sanguinely than I can pretend to do respecting the effects ultimately to result from the labours of missionaries, the dis-

persion of controversial tracts, and whatever other lawful means and implements it may be in our power to employ—even these must admit that if the remedy could cope with the magnitude and inveteracy of the disease, it is wholly inadequate to the urgency of the symptoms. In this instance it would be no easy matter to take the horse to the water; and the rest of the proverb you know. But why do I waste words? There is and can be but one question: and there is and can be but one way of stating it. A great numerical majority of the inhabitants of one integral part of the realm profess a religion hostile to that professed by the majority of the whole realm: and a religion, too, which the latter regard, and have had good reason to regard, as equally hostile to liberty and the sacred rights of conscience generally. In fewer words, three-fourths of his Majesty's Irish subjects are Roman Catholics, with a Popish priesthood, while three-fourths of the sum total of his Majesty's subjects are Protestants. This with its causes and consequences is the evil. It is not in our power, by any immediate or direct means, to effect its removal. The point, therefore, to be determined is: Will the measures now in contemplation be likely to diminish or to aggravate it? And to the determination of this point on the probabilities suggested by reason and experience I would gladly be aidant, as far as my poor mite of judgment will enable me.

Let us, however, first discharge what may well

be deemed a debt of justice from every well educated Englishman to his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects of the Sister Island. At least, let us ourselves understand the true cause of the evil as it now exists. To what and to whom is the present state of Ireland mainly to be attributed? This should be the question: and to this I answer aloud, that it is mainly attributable to those, who during a period of little less than a whole century used as a substitute what Providence had given into their hand as an opportunity; who chose to consider as superseding the most sacred duty a code of law, which could have been excused only on the plea that it enabled them to perform it. To the sloth and improvidence, the weakness and wickedness, of the gentry, clergy, and governors of Ireland, who persevered in preferring intrigue, violence, and selfish expropriation to a system of preventive and remedial measures, the efficacy of which had been warranted for them, alike by the whole provincial history of ancient Rome, *cui pacare subactos summa erat sapientia*; and by the happy results of the few exceptions to the contrary scheme unhappily pursued by their and our ancestors.

I can imagine no work of genius that would more appropriately decorate the dome or wall of a Senate house, than an abstract of Irish history from the landing of Strongbow to the battle of the Boyne, or to a yet later period, embodied in intelligible emblems—an allegorical history-piece designed in the spirit of a Rubens or a Buonarroti,

and with the wild lights, portentous shades, and saturated colours of a Rembrandt, Caravaggio, and Spagnoletti. To complete the great moral and political lesson by the historic contrast, nothing more would be required, than by some equally effective means to possess the mind of the spectator with the state and condition of ancient Spain, at less than half a century from the final conclusion of an obstinate and almost unremitting conflict of two hundred years by Agrippa's subjugation of the Cantabrians, *omnibus Hispaniæ populis devictis et pacatis*. At the breaking up of the Empire the West Goths conquered the country and made division of the lands. Then came eight centuries of Moorish domination. Yet so deeply had Roman wisdom impressed the fairest characters of the Roman mind, that at this very hour, if we except a comparatively insignificant portion of Arabic derivatives, the natives throughout the whole Peninsula speak a language less differing from the *Romana rustica* or provincial Latin of the times of Lucan and Seneca, than any two of its dialects from each other. The time approaches, I trust, when our political economists may study the science of the provincial policy of the ancients in detail, under the auspices of hope, for immediate and practical purposes.

In my own mind I am persuaded that the necessity of the penal and precautionary statutes, passed under Elizabeth and the three succeeding reigns, is to be found as much in the passions and

prejudices of the one party as in the dangerous dispositions of the other. The best excuse for this cruel code is the imperfect knowledge and mistaken maxims common to both parties. It is only to a limited extent that laws can be wiser than the nation for which they are enacted. The annals of the first five or six centuries of the Hebrew nation in Palestine present an almost continued history of disobedience, of laws broken or utterly forgotten, of maxims violated, and schemes of consummate wisdom left unfulfilled. Even a yet diviner seed must be buried and undergo an apparent corruption before—at a late period—it shot up and could appear in its own kind. In our judgments respecting actions we must be guided by the idea, but in applying the rule to the agents by comparison. To speak gently of our forefathers is at once piety and policy. Nor let it be forgotten that only by making the detection of their errors the occasion of our own wisdom do we acquire a right to censure them at all.

Whatever may be thought of the settlement that followed the battle of the Boyne and the extinction of the war in Ireland, yet when this had been made and submitted to, it would have been the far wiser policy, I doubt not, to have provided for the safety of the Constitution by improving the quality of the elective franchise, leaving the eligibility open, or like the former limited only by considerations of property. Still, however, the scheme of exclusion and disqualification had its plausible side.

The ink was scarcely dry on the parchment-rolls and proscription-lists of the Popish Parliament. The crimes of the man were generalized into attributes of his faith; and the Irish Roman Catholics collectively were considered accomplices in the perfidy and baseness of King James. Alas! his immediate adherents had afforded too great colour to the charge. The Irish massacre was in the mouth of every Protestant, not as an event to be remembered, but as a thing of recent expectation, fear still blending with the sense of deliverance. At no time, therefore, could the disqualifying system have been enforced with so little reclamation of the conquered party, or with so little outrage on the general feeling of the country. There was no time, when it was so capable of being indirectly useful as a sedative in order to the application of the remedies directly indicated, or as a counter-power reducing to inactivity whatever disturbing forces might have interfered with their operation. And had this use been made of these exclusive laws, and had they been enforced as the precursors and negative conditions, but above all as *bona fide* accompaniments of a process of emancipation, properly and worthily so named, the code would at this day have been remembered in Ireland only as when recalling a dangerous fever of our boyhood we think of the nauseous drugs and drenching-horn, and congratulate ourselves that our doctors now-a-days know how to manage these things less coarsely. But this angry code was

neglected as an opportunity, and mistaken for a substitute: *et hinc illæ lacrymæ!*

And at this point I find myself placed again in connection with the main, and which I contend to be the pertinent, question; namely, the evil being admitted, and its immediate removal impossible, is the admission of Roman Catholics into both Houses of the Legislature likely to mitigate or to aggravate it? And here the problem is greatly narrowed by the fact that no man pretends to regard this admissibility as a direct remedy or specific antidote for the diseases under which Ireland labours. No! it is to act, we are told, as introductory to the direct remedies. In short, this emancipation is to be, like the penal code which it repeals, a sedative, though in the opposite form of an anodyne cordial, that will itself be entitled to the name of a remedial measure in proportion as it shall be found to render the body susceptible of the more direct remedies that are to follow. Its object is to tranquillize Ireland. Safety, peace, and good neighbourhood, influx of capital, diminution of absenteeism, industrious habits and a long train of blessings will follow. But the indispensable condition, the *causa causarum et causatorum*, is general tranquillity. Such is the language held by all the more intelligent advocates and encomiasts of emancipation. The sense of the question therefore is, will the measure tend to produce tranquillity?

Now it is evident that there are two parties to be satisfied, and that the measure is likely to effect

this purpose accordingly as it is calculated to satisfy reasonable men of both. Reasonable men are easily satisfied : would they were as numerous as they are pacable ! We must, however, understand the word comparatively as including all those on both sides, who by their superior information, talents, or property, are least likely to be under the dominion of vulgar antipathies, and who may be rationally expected to influence (and in certain cases, and in alliance with a vigorous government, to over-rule) the feelings and sentiments of the rest.

Now the two indispensable conditions under which alone the measure can permanently satisfy the reasonable, that is, the satisfiable, of both parties, upon the supposition that in both parties such men exist and that they form the influence class in both, are these : first, that the Act for the repeal of the exclusive statutes and the admission of Roman Catholics to the full privileges of British subjects shall be grounded on some determinate principle, which involving interests and duties common to both parties as British subjects, both parties may be expected to recognize, and required to maintain inviolable : second, that this principle shall contain in itself an evident definite and unchangeable boundary, a line of demarcation, a *ne plus ultra*, which in all reasonable men and lovers of their country shall preclude the wish to pass beyond it, and extinguish the hope of so doing in such as are neither.

But though the measure should be such as to satisfy all reasonable men, still it is possible that the number and influence of these may not be sufficient to leaven the mass, or to over-rule the agitators. I admit this; but instead of weakening what I have here said, it affords an additional argument in its favour. For if an argument satisfactory to the reasonable part should nevertheless fail in securing tranquillity, still less can the result be expected from an arbitrary adjustment that can satisfy no part. If a measure grounded on principle, and possessing the character of an *ultimatum* should still, through the prejudices and passions of one or of both of the parties, fail of success, it would be folly to expect it from a measure that left full scope and sphere to those passions; which kept alive the fears of the one party, while it sharpened the cupidity of the other. With confidence, therefore, I re-assert that only by reference to a principle, possessing the characters above enumerated, can any satisfactory measure be framed, and that if this should fail in producing the tranquillity aimed at, it will be in vain sought in any other.

Again, it is evident that no principle can be appropriate to such a measure, which does not bear directly on the evil to be removed or mitigated. Consequently, it should be our first business to discover in what this evil truly and essentially consists. It is, we know, a compound of many ingredients. But we want to ascertain what the base

is that communicates the quality of evil, of political evil, of evil which it is the duty of a statesman to guard against, to various other ingredients, which without the base would have been innoxious; or though evils in themselves, yet evils of such a kind as to be counted by all wise statesmen among the tares, which must be suffered to grow up with the wheat to the close of the harvest, and left for the Lord of the harvest to separate.

Further: the principle, the grounding and directing principle of an effectual enactment, must be one on which a Roman Catholic might consistently vindicate and recommend the measure to Roman Catholics. It must therefore be independent of all differences purely theological. And the facts and documents, by which the truth and practical importance of the principle are to be proved or illustrated, should be taken by preference from periods anterior to the division of the Latin Church into Romish and Protestant. It should be such, in short, that an orator might with strict historical propriety introduce the framers and extorters of Magna Charta pleading to their Roman Catholic descendants in behalf of the measure grounded on such a principle, and invoking them in the name of the Constitution, over the growth of which they had kept armed watch, and by the sacred obligation to maintain it which they had entailed on their posterity.

This is the condition under which alone I could conscientiously vote, and which being fulfilled, I

should most zealously vote for the admission of lay Roman Catholics, not only to both houses of the Legislature, but to all other offices below the Crown without any exception. Moreover, in the fulfilment of this condition, in the solemn recognition and establishment of a principle having the characters here specified, I find the only necessary security—convinced that this, if acceded to by the Roman Catholic community, would in effect be such, and that any other security will either be hollow, or frustrate the purpose of the Law.

Now this condition would be fulfilled, the required principle would be given, provided that the law for the repeal of the sundry statutes affecting the Roman Catholics were introduced by, and grounded on, a declaration, to which every possible character of solemnity should be given, that at no time and under no circumstances has it ever been, nor can it ever be, compatible with the spirit or consistent with the safety of the British Constitution to recognize in the Roman Catholic priesthood, as now constituted, a component Estate of the realm, or persons capable, individually or collectively, of becoming the trustees and usufructuary proprietors of that elective and circulative property, originally reserved for the permanent maintenance of the National Church. And further, it is expedient that the preamble of the Act should expressly declare and set forth that this exclusion of the members of the Romish Priesthood (comprehending all under oaths of canonical obedience to the Pope

as their ecclesiastical sovereign) from the trusts and offices of the National Church, and from all participation in the proceeds of the Nationalty, is enacted and established on grounds wholly irrelative to any doctrines received and taught by the Romish Church as articles of faith, and protested against as such by the Churches of the Reformation; but that it is enacted on grounds derived and inherited from our ancestors before the Reformation, and by them maintained and enforced to the fullest extent that the circumstances of the times permitted, with no other exceptions and interruptions than those effected by fraud, or usurpation, or foreign force, or the temporary fanaticism of the meaner sort.

In what manner the enactment of this principle should be effected is of comparatively small importance, provided it be distinctly set forth as that great constitutional security, the known existence of which is the ground and condition of the right of the Legislature to dispense with other less essential safe-guards of the constitution, not unnecessary, perhaps, at the time of their enactment, but of temporary and accidental necessity. The form, I repeat, the particular mode in which the principle should be recognized, the security established, is comparatively indifferent. Let it only be understood first, as the provision, by the retention of which the Legislature possesses a moral and constitutional right to make the change in question; as that, the known existence of which permits the law to ignore the Roman Catholics under any other

name than that of British subjects ; and secondly, as the express condition, the basis of a virtual compact between the claimants and the nation, which condition cannot be broken or evaded without subverting (morally) the articles and clauses founded thereon.

I do not assert that the provision here stated is an absolute security. My positions are,—first, that it may with better reason and more probability be proposed as such, than any other hitherto devised ; secondly, that no other securities can supersede the expediency and necessity of this, but that this will greatly diminish or altogether remove the necessity of any other : further, that without this the present measure cannot be rationally expected to produce that tranquillity, which it is the aim and object of the framers to bring about ; and lastly, that the necessity of the declaration, as above given, formally and solemnly to be made and recorded, is not evacuated by this pretext, that no one intends to transfer the Church Establishment to the Romish priesthood, or to divide it with them.

One thing, however, it is of importance that I should mention, namely, that the existing state of the elective franchise* in Ireland, in reference to

* Although, since the text was written, the forty shilling freeholders no longer possess the elective franchise, yet as this particular clause of the Act already has been, and may hereafter be, made a pretext for agitation, the paragraph has been retained, in the belief that its moral uses have not been altogether superseded by the retraction of this most unhappy boon.

the fatal present of the Union ministry to the landed interest, that true Deianira shirt of the Irish Hercules, is altogether excluded from the theme and purpose of this disquisition. It ought to be considered by the Legislature, abstracted from the creed professed by the great majority of these nominal freeholders. The recent abuse of the influence resulting from this profession should be regarded as an accidental aggravation of the mischief, which displayed rather than constituted its malignity. It is even desirable that it should be preserved separate from the Roman Catholic Question, and in no necessary dependence on the fate of the Bill now on the eve of presentation to Parliament. Whether this be carried or be lost, it will still remain a momentous question, urgently calling for the decision of the Legislature—whether the said extension of the elective franchise has not introduced an uncombining and wholly incongruous ingredient into the representative system, irreconcilable with the true principle of election, and virtually disfranchising the class, to whom, on every ground of justice and of policy, the right unquestionably belongs;—under any circumstances overwhelming the voices of the rest of the community; in ordinary times centering in the great land-owners a virtual monopoly of the elective power; and in times of factious excitement depriving them even of their natural and rightful influence.

These few suggestions on the expediency of re-

vising the state of the representation in Ireland are, I am aware, but a digression from the main subject of the Chapter. But this in fact is already completed, as far as my purpose is concerned. The reasons, on which the necessity of the proposed declaration is grounded, have been given at large in the former part of the volume. Here, therefore, I should end; but that I anticipate two objections of sufficient force to deserve a comment and form the matter of a concluding paragraph.

First, it may be objected that, after abstracting the portion of evil which may be plausibly attributed to the peculiar state of landed property in Ireland, there are evils directly resulting from the Romanism of the most numerous class of the inhabitants, besides that of an extra-national priesthood, and against the political consequences of which the above declaration provides no security. To this I reply, that as no bridge ever did or can possess the demonstrable perfections of the mathematical arch, so can no existing State adequately correspond to the idea of a State. In nations and governments the most happily constituted there will be deformities and obstructions, peccant humours and irregular actions, which affect indeed the perfection of the State, but not its essential forms; which retard, but do not necessarily prevent, its progress;—casual disorders which, though they aggravate the growing pains of a nation, may yet, by the vigorous counteraction which they excite, even promote its growth. Inflammations in the extremities and

unseemly boils on the surface must not be confounded with exhaustive misgrowths, or the poison of a false life in the vital organs. Nay,—and this remark is of special pertinency to the present purpose—even where the former derive a malignant character from their co-existence with the latter, yet the wise physician will direct his whole attention to the constitutional ailments, knowing that when the source, the *fons et fomes, veneni* is sealed up, the accessories will either dry up of themselves, or, returning to their natural character rank among the infirmities which flesh is heir to; and either admit of a gradual remedy, or where this is impracticable, or when the medicine would be worse than the disease, are to be endured as *tolerabiles ineptiæ*, trials of patience, and occasions of charity. I have here had the State chiefly in view; but a member of the Church in England will to little purpose have availed himself of his free access to the Scriptures, will have read at least the Epistles of St. Paul with a very unthinking spirit, who does not apply the same maxims to the Church of Christ; who has yet to learn that the Church militant is *a floor whereon wheat and chaff are mingled together*; that even grievous evils and errors may exist that do not concern the nature or being of a Church, and that they may even prevail in the particular Church, to which we belong, without justifying a separation from the same, and without invalidating its claims on our affection as a true and living part of the Church Universal. And with

regard to such evils we must adopt the advice that Augustine (a man not apt to offend by any excess of charity) gave to the complainers of his day—*ut misericorditer corripiant quod possunt, quod non possunt patienter ferant, et cum delectione lugeant, donec aut emendet Deus, aut in messe eradicet zizania et paleas ventilet.*

Secondly, it may be objected that the declaration, so peremptorily by me required, is altogether unnecessary; that no one thinks of alienating the Church property, directly or indirectly; that there is no intention of recognizing the Romish Priests in law, by entitling them as such to national maintenance, or in the language of the day by taking them into the pay of the State: in short, that the National Church is no more in danger than the Christian. And is this the opinion, the settled judgment, of one who has studied the signs of the times? Can the person who makes these assertions, have ever read a certain pamphlet by Mr. Croker?—or the surveys of the counties, published under the authority of the now extinct Board of Agriculture? Or 'has he heard, or attentively perused, the successive debates in both Houses during the late agitation of the Roman Catholic question? If he have—why then, relatively to the objector, and to as many as entertain the same opinions, my reply is:—the objection is unanswerable.

GLOSSARY TO THE APPENDED DIALOGUE.

As all my readers are not bound to understand Greek, and yet, according to my deepest convictions, the truths set forth in the following combat of wit between the man of reason and the man of the senses have an interest for all, I have been induced to prefix the explanations of the few Greek words, and words minted from the Greek :

Cosmos—world. *Toutos** *cosmos*—this world. *Heteros*—the other, in the sense of opposition to, or discrepancy with, some former; as heterodoxy, in opposition to orthodoxy. *Allos*—an other simply and without precluding or superseding the one before mentioned. *Allocosmite*—a denizen of another world.

Mystes, from the Greek *μύω*—one who muses with closed lips, as meditating on ideas which may indeed be suggested and awakened, but cannot, like the images of sense and the conceptions of the understanding, be adequately expressed by words.

Where a person mistakes the anomalous misgrowths of his own individuality for ideas or truths of universal reason, he may, without impropriety, be called a mystic, in the abusive sense of

* *Euphonia gratia.*—Ed.

the term ; though pseudo-mystic or phantast would be the more proper designation. Heraclitus, Plato, Bacon, Leibnitz, were mystics in the primary sense of the term ; Iamblichus and his successors, phantasts.

Ἐπεα ζῶοντα—living words.—The following words from Plato may be Englished ;—“ the commune and the dialect of Gods with or toward men ;” and those attributed to Pythagoras ;—“ the verily subsistent numbers or powers, the most prescient (or provident) principles of the earth and the heavens.”

And here, though not falling under the leading title, Glossary, yet, as tending to the same object of fore-arming the reader for the following dialogue, I transcribe two or three annotations, which I had pencilled, (for the book was lent to me by a friend who had himself borrowed it) on the margins of a volume, recently published, and intituled, “ The Natural History of Enthusiasm.” They will, at least, remind some of my old school-fellows of the habit for which I was even then noted : and for others they may serve, as a specimen of the *Marginalia*, which, if brought together from the various books, my own and those of a score others, would go near to form as bulky a volume as most of those old folios, through which the larger portion of them are dispersed.*

* See the Author's Literary Remains.—Ed.

HISTORY OF ENTHUSIASM.

I.

“ Whatever is practically important on religion or morals, may at all times be advanced and argued in the simplest terms of colloquial expression.”— p. 21.*

NOTE.

I do not believe this. Be it so, however. But why? Simply, because, the terms and phrases of the theological schools have, by their continual iteration from the pulpit, become colloquial. The science of one age becomes the common sense of a succeeding. The author adds—“ from the pulpit, perhaps, no other style should at any time be heard.” Now I can conceive no more direct means of depriving Christianity of one of its peculiar attributes, that of enriching and enlarging the mind, while it purifies and in the very act of purifying the will and affections, than the maxim here prescribed by the historian of enthusiasm. From the intensity of commercial life in this country, and from some other less creditable causes, there is found even among our better educated men a vagueness in the use of words, which presents, indeed, no obstacle to the intercourse of the market, but is absolutely incompatible with the attainment or communication of distinct and precise conceptions. Hence in every department of exact know-

* 7th edit.

ledge a peculiar nomenclature is indispensable. The anatomist, chemist, botanist, mineralogist, yea, even the common artizan and the rude sailor discover that “the terms of colloquial expression,” are too general and too lax to answer their purposes: and on what grounds can the science of self-knowledge, and of our relations to God and our own spirits, be presumed to form an exception? Every new term expressing a fact, or a difference, not precisely and adequately expressed by any other word in the same language, is a new organ of thought for the mind that has learned it.

II.

“The region of abstract conceptions, of lofty reasonings, of magnificent images, has an atmosphere too subtle to support the health of true piety. * * * In accordance with this, the Supreme * * in his word reveals barely a glimpse of his essential glories. By some naked affirmations we are, indeed, secured against grovelling notions of the divine nature; but these hints are incidental, and so scanty, that every excursive mind goes far beyond them in its conception of the infinite attributes.”—p. 26.

NOTE.

By “abstract conceptions” the Author means what I should call ideas, which as such I contra-distinguish from conceptions, whether abstracted or generalized. But it is with his meaning, not with his terms, that I am at present concerned.

Now that the personality of God, the idea of God as the I AM, is presented more prominently in Scripture than the (so called) physical attributes, is most true; and forms one of the distinctive characters of its superior worth and value. It was by dwelling too exclusively on the infinites that the ancient Greek philosophers, Plato excepted, fell into pantheism, as in later times did Spinoza. "I forbid you," says Plato, "to call God the infinite! If you dare name him at all, say rather the measure of infinity." Nevertheless, it would be easy to place *in synopsis* before the Author such a series of Scripture passages as would incline him to retract his assertion. The Eternal, the Omnipresent, the Omniscient, the one absolute Good, the Holy, the Living, the Creator as well as Former of the Universe, the Father of Spirits—can the Author's mind go far beyond these? Yet these are all clearly affirmed of the Supreme One in the Scriptures.

III.

The following pages from p. 26 to p. 36 contain a succession of eloquent and splendid paragraphs on the celestial orders, and the expediency or necessity of their being concealed from us, lest we should receive such overwhelming conceptions of the divine greatness as to render us incapable of devotion and prayer on the Scripture model. "Were it," says the eloquent writer, "indeed permitted to man to gaze upwards from step to

step, and from range to range, of these celestial hierarchies, to the lowest steps of the Eternal Throne, what liberty of heart would afterwards be left him in drawing near to the Father of Spirits?" But the substance of these pages will be found implied in the following reply to them.

NOTE.

More weight with me than all this Pelion upon Ossa of imaginary hierarchies has the single remark of Augustine, that there neither are nor can be but three essential differences of being, namely, the absolute, the rational finite, and the finite irrational; that is, God, man, and brute. Besides, the whole scheme is un-Scriptural, if not contra-Scriptural. Pile up winged hierarchies on hierarchies, and outblaze the Cabalists, and Dionysius the Areopagite; yet what a gaudy vapor for a healthful mind is the whole conception (or rather phantasm) compared with the awful hope holden forth in the Gospel, to be one with God in and through the Mediator Christ, even the living, co-eternal Word and Son of God!

But through the whole of this eloquent declamation I find two errors predominate, and both, it appears to me, dangerous errors. First, that the rational and consequently the only true ideas of the Supreme Being are incompatible with the spirit of prayer and petitionary pleading taught and exemplified in the Scriptures. Second, that this being the case, and "supplication with arguments

and importunate requests" being irrational and known by the supplicant to be such, it is nevertheless a duty to pray in this fashion. In other words, it is asserted that the Supreme Being requires of his rational creatures, as the condition of their offering acceptable worship to him, that they should wilfully blind themselves to the light, which he had himself given them, as the contradistinguishing character of their humanity, without which they could not pray to him at all; and that drugging their sense of the truth into a temporary doze, they should make believe that they know no better! As if the God of Truth and Father of all lights resembled an oriental or African despot, whose courtiers, even those whom he had himself enriched and placed in the highest rank, are commanded to approach him only in beggars' rags and with a beggarly whine!

I on the contrary find "the Scripture model of devotion," the prayers and thanksgiving of the Psalmist, and in the main of our own Church Liturgy, perfectly conformable to the highest and clearest convictions of my reason. (I use the word in its most comprehensive sense, as comprising both the practical and the intellective, not only as the light but likewise as the life which is the light of man. *John* i. 3.) And I do not hesitate to attribute the contrary persuasion principally to the three following oversights. First (and this is the queen bee in the hive of error), the identification of the universal reason with each man's individual understanding, subjects not only different but di-

verse, not only *allogeneous* but *heterogeneous*. Second, the substitution of the idea of the infinite for that of the absolute. Third and lastly, the habit of using the former as a sort of superlative synonyme of the vast or indefinitely great. Now the practical difference between my scheme and that of the Essayist, for whose talents and intentions I feel sincere respect, may perhaps be stated thus.

The Essayist would bring down his understanding to his religion: I would raise up my understanding to my reason, and find my religion in the *focus* resulting from their convergence. We both alike use the same penitential, deprecative and petitionary prayers; I in the full assurance of their congruity with my reason, he in a factitious oblivion of their being the contrary.

The name of the author* of the Natural History of Enthusiasm is unknown to me and unconjectured. It is evidently the work of a mind at once observant and meditative. And should these notes meet the Author's eye, let him be assured that I willingly give to his genius that respect which his intentions without it would secure for him in the breast of every good man. But in the present state of things, infidelity having fallen into disrepute even on the score of intellect, yet the obligation to shew a reason for our faith having become more generally recognized, as reading and the taste for serious conversation have increased, there is a

* Mr. Isaac Taylor.—Ed.

large class of my countrymen disposed to receive, with especial favour, any opinions that will enable them to make a compromise between their new knowledge and their old belief. And with these men the Author's evident abilities will probably render the work a high authority. Now it is the very purpose of my life to impress the contrary sentiments. Hence these notes.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN DEMOSIUS AND MYSTES.*

MY DEAR ———,

IN emptying a drawer of rose-leaf bags, old (but, too many of them) unopened letters, and paper scraps, or brain fritters, I had my attention directed to a sere and ragged half-sheet by a gust of wind, which had separated it from its companions, and whisked it out of the window into the garden. —Not that I went after it. I have too much respect for the numerous tribe, to which it belonged, to lay any restraint on their movements, or to put the Vagrant Act in force against them. But it so chanced that some after-breeze had stuck it on a standard rose-tree, and there I found it, as I was pacing my evening walk alongside the lower ivy-wall, the bristled runners from which threaten to

* See *ante* p. 127.—*Ed.*

entrap the top branch of the cherry tree in our neighbour's kitchen garden. I had been meditating a letter to you, and as I ran my eye over this fly-away tag-rag and bob-tail, and bethought me that it was a by-blow of my own, I felt a sort of fatherly remorse, and yearning towards it, and exclaimed, "If I had a frank for——, this should help to make up the ounce." It was far too decrepit to travel *per se*—besides that the seal would have looked like a single pin on a beggar's coat of tatters—and yet one does not like to be stopped in a kind feeling, which my conscience interpreted as a sort of promise to the said scrap, and therefore, (frank or no frank), I will transcribe it. A dog's leaf at the top was worn off, which must have contained I presume, the syllable Ve—

—————"Rily," quoth *Demosius* of *Toutoscosmos*, Gentleman, to *Mystes* the *Allocosmite*, "thou seemest to me like an out-of-door patient of St. Luke's wandering about in the rain without cap, hat, or bonnet, poring on the elevation of a palace, not the house that Jack built, but the house that is to be built for Jack, in the suburbs of the city, which his cousin-german, the lynx-eyed Dr. Gruithuisen has lately discovered in the moon. But through a foolish kindness for that face of thine, which whilome belonged to an old school-fellow of the same name with thee, I would get thee shipped off under the Alien Act, as a *non ens*, or pre-existent of the other world to come."—To whom *Mystes* retorted ;—"Verily, friend *De-*

mosius, thou art too fantastic for a genuine *Toutoscosmos* man ; and it needs only a fit of dyspepsy, or a cross in love to make a Heterocosmite of thee ; this same *Heteroscosmos* being in fact the endless shadow which the *Toutoscosmos* casts at sun-set. But not to alarm or affront thee, as if I insinuated that thou wert in danger of becoming an Allocosmite, I let the whole of thy courteous address to me pass without comment or objection, save only the two concluding monosyllables and the preposition (*pre*) which anticipates them. The world in which I exist is another world indeed, but not to come. It is as present as (if that be at all) the magnetic planet, of which, according to the astronomer Halley, the visible globe which we invermine is the case or travelling-trunk ;—a neat little world where light still exists *in statu perfuso*, as on the third day of the creation, before it was polarized into outward and inward, that is, while light and life were one and the same, neither existing formally, yet both *eminenter* : and when herb, flower, and forest rose as a vision, *in proprio lucido*, the ancestor and unseen yesterday of the sun and moon. Now, whether there really is such an Elysian *mundus mundulus* incased in the macrocosm, or great world, below the adamantine vault that supports the mother waters, which support the coating crust of that *mundus immundus* on which we and others less scantily furnished from nature's storehouse crawl, delve, and nestle—(or, shall I say the Lyceum, where walk οί τούτου κόσμου

φιλόσοφοι)—Dr. Halley may, perhaps, by this time have ascertained: and to him and the philosophic ghosts, his compeers, I leave it. But that another world is inshrined in the microcosm I not only believe, but at certain depths of my being, during the more solemn Sabbaths of the spirit, I have holden commune therewith, in the power of that faith, which is *the substance of the things hoped for*, the living stem that will itself expand into the flower, which it now foreshews. How should it not be so, even on grounds of natural reason, and the analogy of inferior life? Is not nature prophetic up the whole vast pyramid of organic being? And in which of her numberless predictions has nature been convicted of a lie? Is not every organ announced by a previous instinct or act? The *larva* of the stag-beetle lies in its *chrysalis* like an infant in the coffin of an adult, having left an empty space half the length it occupies; and this space is the exact length of the horn which distinguishes the perfect animal, but which, when it constructed its temporary *sarcophagus*, was not yet in existence. Do not the eyes, ears, lungs of the unborn babe give notice and furnish proof of a transuterine, visible, audible, atmospheric world? We have eyes, ears, touch, taste, smell; and have we not an answering world of shapes, colours, sounds, and sapid and odorous bodies? But likewise—(alas! for the man for whom the one has not the same evidence of fact as the other)—the Creator has given us spiritual senses, and sense-organs—ideas I mean—



the idea of the good, the idea of the beautiful, ideas of eternity, immortality, freedom, and of that which contemplated relatively to will is holiness, in relation to life is bliss. And must not these too infer the existence of a world correspondent to them? *There is a light*, said the Hebrew sage, *compared with which the glory of the sun is but a cloudy veil*: and is it an *ignis fatuus* given to mock us and lead us astray? And from a yet higher authority we know, *that it is a light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world*. And are there no objects to reflect it? Or must we seek its *analogon* in the light of the glow-worm, that simply serves to distinguish one reptile from all the rest, and lighting, inch by inch, its mazy path through weeds and grass, leaves all else before, and behind, and around it in darkness? No! Another and answerable world there is; and if any man discern it not, let him not, whether sincerely or in contemptuous irony, pretend a defect of faculty as the cause. The sense, the light, and the conformed objects are all there and for all men. The difference between man and man in relation thereto results from no difference in their several gifts and powers of intellect, but in the will. As certainly as the individual is a man, so certainly should this other world be present to him: yea, it is his proper home. But he is an absentee and chooses to live abroad. His freedom and whatever else he possesses which the dog and the ape do not possess, yea, the whole revenue of his

humanity, is derived from this ;—but with the Irish land-owner in the theatres, gaming-houses, and maitresseries of Paris, so with him. He is a voluntary absentee. I repeat it again and again,—the cause is altogether in the will : and the defect of intellectual power, and “ the having no turn or taste for subjects of this sort,” are effects and consequences of the alienation of the will, that is, of the man himself. There may be a defect, but there was not a deficiency, of the intellect. I appeal to facts for the proof. Take the science of political economy. No two professors understand each other ;—and often have I been present where the subject has been discussed in a room full of merchants and manufacturers, sensible and well-informed men : and the conversation has ended in a confession that the matter was beyond their comprehension. And yet the science professes to give light on rents, taxes, income, capital, the principles of trade, commerce, agriculture, on wealth, and the ways of acquiring and increasing it, in short on all that most passionately excites and interests the *Toutocosmos* men. But it was avowed that to arrive at any understanding of these matters requires a mind gigantic in its comprehension, and microscopic in its accuracy of detail. Now compare this with the effect produced on promiscuous crowds by a Whitfield, or a Wesley ;—or rather compare with it the shaking of every leaf of the vast forest to the first blast of Luther’s trumpet. Was it only of the world to come that Luther and

his compeers preached? Turn to Luther's Table Talk, and see if the larger part be not of that other world which now is, and without the being and working of which the world to come would be either as unintelligible as *Abacadabra*, or a mere reflection and elongation of the world of sense—Jack Robinson between two looking-glasses, with a series of Jack Robinsons *in sæcula sæculorum*."

"Well, but what is this new and yet other world? The brain of a man that is out of his senses? A world fraught with castles in the air, well worthy the attention of any gentleman inclined to idealize a large property?"

"The sneer on that lip, and the arch shine of that eye, friend *Demosius*, would almost justify me, though I should answer that question by retorting it in a parody. What, quoth the owlet, peeping out of his ivy-bush at noon, with his blue fringed eye-curtains dropped, what is this light which is said to exist together with this warmth we feel, and yet is something else? But I read likewise in that same face, when thou wast beginning to prepare that question, a sort of mis-giving from within, as if thou wert more positive than sure that the reply, with which you would accommodate me, is as wise as it is witty. Therefore, though I cannot answer your question, I will give you a hint how you may answer it for yourself. Learn the art and acquire the habit of contemplating things abstractedly from their relations.

I will explain myself by an instance. Suppose a body floating at a certain height in the air, and receiving the light so equally on all sides as not to occasion the eye to conjecture any solid contents. And now let six or seven persons see it at different distances and from different points of view. For A it will be a square; for B a triangle; for C two right-angled triangles attached to each other; for D two unequal triangles; for E it will be a triangle with a *trapezium* hung on to it; for F it will be a square with a cross in it ; for G it will be an oblong quadrangle with three triangles in it ; and for H three unequal triangles.

Now it is evident that not one of all these is the figure itself, (which in this instance is a four-sided pyramid), but the contingent relations of the figure. Now transfer this from geometry to the subjects of the real (that is, not merely formal or abstract) sciences,—to substances and bodies, the *materia subjecta* of the chemist, physiologist and naturalist, and you will gradually (that is, if you choose and sincerely will it) acquire the power and the disposition of contemplating your own imaginations, wants, appetites, passions, and opinions, on the same principles, and distinguish that which alone is and abides from the accidental and impermanent relations arising out of its co-existence with other things or beings.

My second rule or maxim requires its *prolegomena*. In the several classes and orders that mark

the scale of organic nature, from the plant to the highest order of animals, each higher implies a lower as the condition of its actual existence ;— and the same position holds good equally of the vital and organic powers. Thus, without the first power, that of growth, or what Bichat and others name the vegetive life or productivity, the second power, that of totality and locomotion (commonly but most infelicitously called irritability) could not exist, that is, manifest its being. Productivity is the necessary antecedent of irritability, and in like manner irritability of sensibility. But it is no less true that in the idea of each power the lower derives its intelligibility from the higher : and the highest must be presumed to inhere latently or potentially in the lowest, or this latter will be wholly unintelligible, inconceivable ;—you can have no conception of it. Thus in sensibility we see a power that in every instant goes out of itself, and in the same instant retracts and falls back on itself : which the great fountains of pure *Mathesis*, the Pythagorean and Platonic geometricians, illustrated in the production or self-evolution of the point into the circle. Imagine the going-forth and the retraction as two successive acts, the result would be an infinity of angles, a growth of zig-zag. In order to the imaginability of a circular line, the extroitive and the retroitive must co-exist in one and the same act and moment, the curve line being the product. Now what is ideally true in the generations or productive acts of the

intuitive faculty (of the pure sense, I mean, or inward vision—the *reine Anschauung* of the German philosophers) must be assumed as truth of fact in all living growth, or wherein would the growth of a plant differ from that of a crystal? The latter is formed wholly by apposition *ab extra*: in the former the movement *ab extra* is in order of thought consequent on, and yet coinstantaneous with, the movement *ab intra*. Thus, the specific character of sensibility, the highest of the three powers, is found to be the general character of life, and supplies the only way of conceiving, the only insight into the possibility of, the first and lowest power. And yet, even thus, growth taken as separate from, and exclusive of, sensibility would be unintelligible, nay, contradictory. For it would be an act of the life, or productive form of the plant, having the life itself as its source, (since it is a going forth from the life), and likewise having the life itself as its object, for in the same instant it is retracted: and yet the product (that is, the plant) exists not for itself, by the hypothesis that has excluded sensibility. For all sensibility is a self-finding; whence the German word for sensation or feeling is *Empfindung*, that is, an inward finding. Therefore sensibility cannot be excluded: and as it does not exist actually, it must be involved potentially. Life does not yet manifest itself in its highest dignity, as a self-finding; but in an evident tendency thereto, or a self-seeking;—and this has two epochs or intensi-

ties. Potential sensibility in its first epoch, or lowest intensity, appears as growth : in its second epoch, it shews itself as irritability or vital instinct. In both, however, the sensibility must have pre-existed, or rather pre-inhered, though as latent : or how could the irritability have been evolved out of the growth, (as in the *stamina* of the plant during the act of impregnating the *germen*) :—or the sensibility out of the irritability, —as in the first appearance of nerves and nervous bulbs in the lower orders of the insect realm ? But, indeed, evolution as contradistinguished from apposition, or superinduction *ab aliunde*, is implied in the conception of life : and is that which essentially differences a living fibre from a thread of *asbestos*, the floscule or any other of the moving fairy shapes of animalcular life from the frost-plumes on a window pane.

Again : what has been said of the lowest power of life relatively to its highest power—growth to sensibility, the plant to the animal—applies equally to life itself relatively to mind. Without the latter the former would be unintelligible, and the idea would contradict itself. If there had been no self-retaining power, a self-finding would be a perpetual self-losing. Divide a second into a thousand, or if you please, a million of parts, yet if there be an absolute chasm separating one moment of self-finding from another, the chasm of a millionth of a second would be equal to all time. A being that existed for itself only in moments, each infinitely small and yet absolutely divided from the

preceding and following, would not exist for itself at all. And if all beings were the same, or yet lower, it could not be said to exist in any sense, any more than light would exist as light, if there were no eyes or visual power: and the whole conception would break up into contradictory positions—an intestine conflict more destructive than even that between the two cats, where one tail alone is said to have survived the battle. The conflicting factors of our conception would eat each other up, tails and all. *Ergo*: the mind, as a self-retaining power, is not less indispensable to the intelligibility of life as a self-finding power, than a self-finding power, that is, sensibility, to a self-seeking power, that is, growth. Again: a self-retaining mind—that is, memory, (which is the primary sense of mind, and the common people in several of our provinces still use the word in this sense)—a self-retaining power supposes a self-containing power, a self-conscious being. And this is the definition of mind in its proper and distinctive sense, a subject that is its own object,—or where A contemplant is one and the same subject with A contemplated. Lastly,—(that I may complete the ascent of powers for my own satisfaction, and not as expecting, or in the present habit of your thoughts even wishing you to follow me to a height, dizzy for the strongest spirit, it being the *apex* of all human, perhaps of angelic, knowledge to know that it must be: since absolute ultimates can only be seen by a light thrown backward from the penultimate; *John* i. 18.)—lastly,

I say, the self-containing power supposes a self-causing power; *causa sui*, αἰτία ὑπερούσιος. Here alone we find a problem which in its very statement contains its own solution—the one self-solving power, beyond which no question is possible. Yet short of this we dare not rest; for even Ο ΩΝ, the Supreme Being, if contemplated abstractly from the Absolute Will, whose essence it is to be causative of all being, would sink into a Spinozistic deity. That this is not evident to us arises from the false notion of reason as a quality, property, or faculty of the real: whereas reason is the supreme reality, the only true being in all things visible and invisible; the *pleroma*, in whom alone God loveth the world! Even in man will is deeper than mind: for mind does not cease to be mind by having an antecedent; but will is either the first (τὸ ἀεὶ πρόπρωτον, τὸ *nunquam positum, semper supponendum*), or it is not will at all.

And now for the practical rules which I promised, or the means by which you may educate in yourself that state of mind which is most favourable to a true knowledge of both the worlds that now are, and to a right faith in the world to come.

- I. Remember that whatever is, lives. A thing absolutely lifeless is inconceivable, except as a thought, image, or fancy, in some other being.
- ✕ II. In every living form, the conditions of its existence are to be sought for in that which is below it; the grounds of its intelligibility in that which is above it.

III. Accustom your mind to distinguish the

relations of things from the things themselves. Think often of the latter as independent of the former, in order that you may never think of the former apart from the latter, that is, mistake mere relations for true and enduring realities : and with regard to these seek the solution of each in some higher reality. The contrary process leads demonstrably to atheism, and though you may not get quite so far, it is not well to be seen travelling on the road with your face towards it.

I might add a fourth rule : Learn to distinguish permanent from accidental relations. But I am willing that you should for a time take permanent relations as real things—confident that you will soon feel the necessity of reducing what you now call things into relations, which immediately arising out of a somewhat else may properly be contemplated as the products of that somewhat else, and as the means by which its existence is made known to you. But known as what? not as a product ; for it is the somewhat else, to which the product stands in the same relation as the words which you are now hearing bear to my living soul. But if not as products, then as productive powers : and the result will be that what you have hitherto called things will be regarded as only more or less permanent relations of things, having their derivative reality greater or less in proportion as they are regular or accidental relations ; determined by the pre-established fitness of the true thing to the organ and faculty of the percipient, or resulting from some defect or anomaly in the latter.

With these convictions matured into a habit of mind, the man no longer seeks, or believes himself to find, true reality except in the powers of nature ; which living and actuating powers are made known to him, and their kinds determined, and their forces measured, by their proper products. In other words, he thinks of the products in reference to the productive powers, τοῖς ὄντως ὑπάρχουσιν ἀριθμοῖς ἢ δυνάμεσι, ὡς ταῖς προμαθεστάταις ἀρχαῖς τοῦ πάντος οὐράνου καὶ γῆς, and thus gives to the former (to the products, I mean) a true reality, a life, a beauty, and a physiognomic expression. For him they are the ἔπεα ζῶοντα, ὁμιλία καὶ ἡ διάλεκτος θεῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους. The Allocosmite, therefore, (though he does not bark at the image in the glass, because he knows what it is), possesses the same world with the Toutocosmites ; and has, besides, in present possession another and better world, to which he can transport himself by a swifter vehicle than Fortunatus's wishing cap.

Finally, what is reason ? You have often asked me ; and this is my answer ;

Whene'er the mist, that stands 'twixt God and thee
Defecates to a pure transparency,
That intercepts no light and adds no stain—
There reason is, and there begins her reign !

But, alas !

————— *tu stesso ti fai grosso*
Col falso immaginar, sì che non vedi
Ciò che vedresti se l'avessi scosso.

DANTE, *Par. Canto I.* 88.

THE
STATESMAN'S MANUAL;
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Second Edition:

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND NOTES,

BY

HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE, ESQ. M.A.

Ad isthæc quæso vos, qualiacunque primo videantur aspectu, attendite, ut qui vobis forsân insanire videar, saltem quibus insaniam rationibus cognoscatis.—GIORDANO BRUNO.

A LAY SERMON,

ETC.

For he established a testimony in Jacob and appointed a law in Israel; which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children: that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born; who should arise and declare them to their children: that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God.—PSALM lxxviii. 5, 6, 7.

IF our whole knowledge and information concerning the Bible had been confined to the one fact of its immediate derivation from God, we should still presume that it contained rules and assistances for all conditions of men under all circumstances; and therefore for communities no less than for individuals. The contents of every work must correspond to the character and designs of the workmaster; and the inference in the present case is too obvious to be overlooked, too plain to be resisted. It requires, indeed, all the might of

superstition to conceal from a man of common understanding the further truth, that the interment of such a treasure in a dead language must needs be contrary to the intentions of the gracious Donor. Apostasy itself dared not question the premisses: and that the practical consequence did not follow, is conceivable only under a complete system of delusion, which from the cradle to the death-bed ceases not to over-awe the will by obscure fears, while it preoccupies the senses by vivid imagery and ritual pantomime. But to such a scheme all forms of sophistry are native. The very excellence of the Giver has been made a reason for withholding the gift; nay the transcendant value of the gift itself assigned as the motive of its detention. We may be shocked at the presumption, but need not be surprised at the fact, that a jealous priesthood should have ventured to represent the applicability of the Bible to all the wants and occasions of men as a wax-like pliancy to all their fancies and prepossessions. Faithful guardians of Holy Writ, they are constrained to make it useless in order to guard it from profanation; and those, whom they have most defrauded, are the readiest to justify the fraud. For imposture, organized into a comprehensive and self-consistent whole, forms a world of its own, in which inversion becomes the order of nature.

Let it not be forgotten, however, (and I recommend the fact to the especial attention of those among ourselves, who are disposed to rest con-

tented with an implicit faith and passive acquiescence) that the Church of Rome never ceased to avow the profoundest reverence for the Scriptures themselves, and what it forbids its vassals to ascertain, it not only permits, but commands them to take for granted.

Whether, and to what extent, this suspension of the rational functions, this spiritual slumber, will be imputed as a sin to the souls who are still under chains of Papal darkness, we are neither enabled or authorized to determine. It is enough for us to know that the land, in which we abide, has like another Goshen *been severed from the plague*, and that we have light in our dwellings. The road of salvation for us is a high road, and the wayfarers, though *simple, need not err therein*. The Gospel lies open in the market-place and on every window seat, so that (virtually at least) *the deaf may hear the words of the book*. It is preached at every turning, so that the *blind may see them*. (*Isai. xxix. 18.*) The circumstances then being so different, if the result should prove similar, we may be quite certain that we shall not be holden guiltless. The ignorance which may be the excuse of others will be our crime. Our birth and denizenship in an enlightened and Protestant land will, with all our rights and franchises to boot, be brought in judgment against us, and stand first in the fearful list of blessings abused. The glories of our country will form the blazonry of our own impeachment, and the very

name of Englishmen, of which we are almost all of us too proud, and for which scarcely any of us are enough thankful, will be annexed to that of Christians only to light up our shame and to aggravate our condemnation.

I repeat, therefore, that the habitual unreflectingness, which in certain countries may be susceptible of more or less palliation in most instances, can in this country be deemed blameless in none. The humblest and least educated of our countrymen must have wilfully neglected the inestimable privileges secured to all alike, if he has not himself found, if he has not from his own personal experience discovered, the sufficiency of the Scriptures* in all knowledge requisite for a right performance of his duty as a man and a Christian. Of the labouring classes, who in all countries form the great majority of the inhabitants, more than this is not demanded, more than this is not perhaps generally desirable. They are *not sought for in public counsel*, nor need they be found where politic sentences are spoken. It is enough if every one is wise in the working of his own craft: so best *will they maintain the state of the world*.

But you, my friends, to whom the following pages are more particularly addressed, as to men moving in the higher class of society,—you will, I hope, have availed yourselves of the ampler means entrusted to you by God's providence, for

* See App. (A.)—Ed.

a more extensive study and a wider use of his revealed will and word. From you we have a right to expect a sober and meditative accommodation to your own times and country of those important truths declared in the inspired writings *for a thousand generations*, and of the awful examples, belonging to all ages, by which those truths are at once illustrated and confirmed. Would you feel conscious that you had shewn yourselves unequal to your station in society,—would you stand degraded in your own eyes,—if you betrayed an utter want of information respecting the acts of human sovereigns and legislators? And should you not much rather be both ashamed and afraid to know yourselves in conversant with the acts and constitutions of God, whose law executeth itself, and whose Word is the foundation, the power, and the life of the universe? Do you hold it a requisite of your rank to shew yourselves inquisitive concerning the expectations and plans of statesmen and state-councillors? Do you excuse it as natural curiosity, that you lend a listening ear to the guesses of state-gazers, to the dark hints and open revilings of our self-inspired state-fortune-tellers, the wizards, that peep and mutter and forecast, alarmists by trade, and malcontents for their bread? And should you not feel a deeper interest in predictions which are permanent prophecies, because they are at the same time eternal truths? Predictions which in containing the grounds of fulfilment involve the principles of fore-

sight, and teach the science of the future in its perpetual elements ?

But I will struggle to believe that of those whom I now suppose myself addressing there are few who have not so employed their greater leisure and superior advantages as to render these remarks, if not wholly superfluous, yet personally inapplicable. In common with your worldly inferiors, you will indeed have directed your main attention to the promises and the information conveyed in the records of the Evangelists and Apostles ;—promises, that need only a lively trust in them, on our own part, to be the means as well as the pledges of our eternal welfare—information that opens out to our knowledge a kingdom that is not of this world, thrones that cannot be shaken, and sceptres that can neither be broken nor transferred. Yet not the less on this account will you have looked back with a proportionate interest on the temporal destinies of men and nations, stored up for our instruction in the archives of the Old Testament : not the less will you delight to retrace the paths by which Providence has led the kingdoms of this world through the valley of mortal life ;—paths engraved with the footmarks of captains sent forth from the God of armies ;—nations in whose guidance or chastisement the arm of Omnipotence itself was made bare.

Recent occurrences have given additional strength and fresh force to our sage poet's eulogy on the Jewish Prophets ;—

As men divinely taught and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government
In their majestic unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt
What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms and lays cities flat.

PAR. REG. iv. 354.

If there be any antidote to that restless craving for the wonders of the day, which in conjunction with the appetite for publicity is spreading like an efflorescence on the surface of our national character; if there exist means for deriving resignation from general discontent, means of building up with the very materials of political gloom that steadfast frame of hope which affords the only certain shelter from the throng of self-realizing alarms, at the same time that it is the natural home and workshop of all the active virtues; that antidote and these means must be sought for in the collation of the present with the past, in the habit of thoughtfully assimilating the events of our own age to those of the time before us. If this be a moral advantage derivable from history in general, rendering its study therefore a moral duty for such as possess the opportunities of books, leisure and education, it would be inconsistent even with the name of believers not to recur with pre-eminent interest to events and revolutions, the records of which are as much distinguished from all other history by their especial claims to divine authority,

as the facts themselves were from all other facts by especial manifestation of divine interference. *Whatsoever things, saith Saint Paul, (Rom. xv. 4.) were written aforetime, were written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.*

In the infancy of the world signs and wonders were requisite in order to startle and break down that superstition,—idolatrous in itself and the source of all other idolatry,—which tempts the natural man to seek the true cause and origin of public calamities in outward circumstances, persons and incidents: in agents therefore that were themselves but surges of the same tide, passive conductors of the one invisible influence, under which the total host of billows, in the whole line of successive impulse, swell and roll shoreward; there finally, each in its turn, to strike, roar and be dissipated.

But with each miracle worked there was a truth revealed, which thenceforward was to act as its substitute. And if we think the Bible less applicable to us on account of the miracles, we degrade ourselves into mere slaves of sense and fancy, which are indeed the appointed medium between earth and heaven, but for that very cause stand in a desirable relation to spiritual truth then only, when, as a mere and passive medium, they yield a free passage to its light. It was only to overthrow the usurpation exercised in and through the senses, that the senses were miraculously appealed

to; for reason and religion are their own evidence.* The natural sun is in this respect a symbol of the spiritual. Ere he is fully arisen, and while his glories are still under veil, he calls up the breeze to chase away the usurping vapours of the night-season, and thus converts the air itself into the minister of its own purification: not surely in proof or elucidation of the light from heaven, but to prevent its interception.

Wherever, therefore, similar circumstances co-exist with the same moral causes, the principles revealed, and the examples recorded, in the inspired writings render miracles superfluous: and if we neglect to apply truths in expectation of wonders, or under pretext of the cessation of the latter, we tempt God, and merit the same reply which our Lord gave to the Pharisees on a like occasion. *A wicked and an adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas,* (Matt. xvi. 4:) that is, a threatening call to repentance.† Equally applicable and prophetic will the following verses be. *The queen of the South shall rise up in the judgment with the men of this generation and condemn them: for she came from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here.—The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation and shall condemn it;*

* See App. (B).—Ed.

† See App. (C).—Ed.

for they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here. (Luke xi. 31, 32.) For have we not divine assurance that Christ is with his Church even to the end of the world? And what could the queen of the South, or the men of Nineveh have beholden, that could enter into competition with the events of our own times, in importance, in splendour, or even in strangeness and significancy?

The true origin of human events is so little susceptible of that kind of evidence which can compel our belief; so many are the disturbing forces which in every cycle of changes modify the motion given by the first projection; and every age has, or imagines it has, its own circumstances which render past experience no longer applicable to the present case; that there will never be wanting answers, and explanations, and specious flatteries of hope to persuade a people and its government that the history of the past is inapplicable to their case. And no wonder, if we read history for the facts instead of reading it for the sake of the general principles, which are to the facts as the root and sap of a tree to its leaves: and no wonder, if history so read should find a dangerous rival in novels, nay, if the latter should be preferred to the former on the score even of probability. I well remember, that when the examples of former Jacobins, as Julius Cæsar, Cromwell, and the like, were adduced in France and England at the commencement of the French

Consulate, it was ridiculed as pedantry and pedant's ignorance to fear a repetition of usurpation and military despotism at the close of the enlightened eighteenth century! Even so, in the very dawn of the late tempestuous day, when the revolutions of Corcyra, the proscriptions of the Reformers, Marius, Cæsar, and the like, and the direful effects of the levelling tenets in the Peasants' War in Germany, were urged on the Convention, and its vindicators; I well remember that the *Magi* of the day, the true citizens of the world, the *plusquam-perfecti* of patriotism, gave us set proofs that similar results were impossible, and that it was an insult to so philosophical an age, to so enlightened a nation, to dare direct the public eye towards them as to lights of warning! Alas! like lights in the stern of a vessel they illumined the path only that had been past over!

The politic Florentine* has observed, that there are brains of three races. The one understands of itself; the other understands as much as is shown it by others; the third neither understands of itself, nor what is shewn it by others. In our times there are more perhaps who belong to the third class from vanity and acquired frivolity of mind, than from natural incapacity. It is no uncommon weakness with those who are honoured

* *Sono di tre generazioni cervelli: l'uno intende per se; l'altro intende quanto da altri gli è mostro; e il terzo non intende nè per se stesso nè per dimostrazione di altri.*

with the acquaintance of the great, to attribute national events to particular persons, particular measures, to the errors of one man, to the intrigues of another, to any possible spark of a particular occasion, rather than to the true proximate cause, (and which alone deserves the name of a cause) the predominant state of public opinion. And still less are they inclined to refer the latter to the ascendancy of speculative principles, and the scheme or mode of thinking in vogue. I have known men, who with significant nods and the pitying contempt of smiles have denied all influence to the corruptions of moral and political philosophy, and with much solemnity have proceeded to solve the riddle of the French Revolution by Anecdotes! Yet it would not be difficult, by an unbroken chain of historic facts, to demonstrate that the most important changes in the commercial relations of the world had their origin in the closets or lonely walks of uninterested theorists;—that the mighty epochs of commerce, that have changed the face of empires; nay, the most important of those discoveries and improvements in the mechanic arts, which have numerically increased our population beyond what the wisest statesmen of Elizabeth's reign deemed possible, and again doubled this population virtually; the most important, I say, of those inventions that in their results

————— best uphold

War by her two main nerves, iron and gold—

had their origin not in the cabinets of statesmen, or in the practical insight of men of business, but in the visions of recluse genius. To the immense majority of men, even in civilized countries, speculative philosophy has ever been, and must ever remain, a *terra incognita*. Yet it is not the less true, that all the epoch-forming revolutions of the Christian world, the revolutions of religion and with them the civil, social, and domestic habits of the nations concerned, have coincided with the rise and fall of metaphysical systems.* So few are the minds that really govern the machine of society, and so incomparably more numerous and more important are the indirect consequences of things than their foreseen and direct effects.

It is with nations as with individuals. In tranquil moods and peaceable times we are quite practical. Facts only and cool common sense are then in fashion. But let the winds of passion swell, and straitway men begin to generalize; to connect by remotest analogies; to express the most universal positions of reason in the most glowing figures of fancy; in short, to feel particular truths and mere facts, as poor, cold, narrow, and incommensurate with their feelings.

With his wonted fidelity to nature, our own great poet has placed the greater number of his pro-

* This thought might also be applied to, and exemplified by, the successive epochs in the history of the Fine Arts from the tenth century. 1827.

foundest maxims and general truths, both political and moral, not in the mouths of men at ease, but of men under the influence of passion, when the mighty thoughts overmaster and become the tyrants of the mind that has brought them forth. In his *Lear*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, principles of deepest insight and widest interest fly off like sparks from the glowing iron under the loud forge-hammer.*

* It seems a paradox only to the unthinking, and it is a fact that none, but the unread in history, will deny, that in periods of popular tumult and innovation the more abstract a notion is, the more readily has it been found to combine, the closer has appeared its affinity, with the feelings of a people and with all their immediate impulses to action. At the commencement of the French Revolution, in the remotest villages every tongue was employed in echoing and enforcing the almost geometrical abstractions of the physiocratic politicians and economists. The public roads were crowded with armed enthusiasts disputing on the inalienable sovereignty of the people, the imprescriptible laws of the pure reason, and the universal constitution, which, as rising out of the nature and rights of man as man, all nations alike were under the obligation of adopting. Turn over the fugitive writings, that are still extant, of the age of Luther; peruse the pamphlets and loose sheets that came out in flights during the reign of Charles I. and the Republic; and you will find in these one continued comment on the aphorism of Lord Bacon (a man assuredly sufficiently acquainted with the extent of secret and personal influence), that the knowledge of the speculative principles of men in general between the age of twenty and thirty is the one great source of political prophecy. And Sir Philip Sidney regarded the adoption of one set of principles in the Netherlands, as a proof of the divine agency and the fountain of all the events and successes of that Revolution.

A calm and detailed examination of the facts justifies me to my own mind in hazarding the bold assertion, that the fearful blunders of the late dread Revolution, and all the calamitous mistakes of its opponents from its commencement even to the æra of loftier principles and wiser measures (an æra, that began with, and ought to be named from, the war of the Spanish and Portuguese insurgents) every failure with all its gloomy results may be unanswerably deduced from the neglect of some maxim or other that had been established by clear reasoning and plain facts in the writings of Thucydides, Tacitus, Machiavel, Bacon, or Harrington. These are red-letter names even in the almanacks of worldly wisdom: and yet I dare challenge all the critical benches of infidelity to point out any one important truth, any one efficient practical direction or warning, which did not pre-exist, (and for the most part in a sounder, more intelligible, and more comprehensive form) in the Bible.

In addition to this, the Hebrew legislator, and the other inspired poets, prophets, historians and moralists of the Jewish Church have two peculiar advantages in their favor. First, their particular rules and prescripts flow directly and visibly from universal principles, as from a fountain: they flow from principles and ideas that are not so properly said to be confirmed by reason as to be reason itself. Principles in act and procession, disjoined from which, and from the emotions that inevitably accompany the actual intuition of their truth, the

widest maxims of prudence are like arms without hearts, muscles without nerves. Secondly, from the very nature of these principles, as taught in the Bible, they are understood in exact proportion as they are believed and felt. The regulator is never separated from the main spring. For the words of the Apostle are literally and philosophically true: *We* (that is, the human race) *live by faith*. Whatever we do or know that in kind is different from the brute creation, has its origin in a determination of the reason to have faith and trust in itself. This, its first act of faith, is scarcely less than identical with its own being. *Implicite*, it is the *copula*—it contains the possibility—of every position, to which there exists any correspondence in reality.* It is itself, therefore, the realizing principle, the spiritual *substratum* of the whole complex body of truths. This primal act of faith is enunciated in the word, God: a faith not derived from, but itself the ground and source of, experience, and without which the fleeting chaos of facts would no more form experience, than the dust of the grave can of itself make a living man. The imperative and oracular form of the inspired

* I mean that, but for the confidence which we place in the assertions of our reason and conscience, we could have no certainty of the reality and actual outness of the material world. It might be affirmed that in what we call 'sleep' every one has a dream of his own; and that in what we call 'awake,' whole communities dream nearly alike. It is!—is a sense of reason: the senses can only say—It seems!
1827.

Scripture is the form of reason itself in all things purely rational and moral.

If Scripture be the word of Divine Wisdom, we might anticipate that it would in all things be distinguished from other books, as the Supreme Reason, whose knowledge is creative, and antecedent to the things known, is distinguished from the understanding, or creaturely mind of the individual, the acts of which are posterior to the things which it records and arranges. Man alone was created in the image of God: a position groundless and inexplicable, if the reason in man do not differ from the understanding. For this the inferior animals (many at least) possess in degree: and assuredly the divine image or idea is not a thing of degrees.

Hence it follows that what is expressed in the Scriptures is implied in all absolute science. The latter whispers what the former utter as with the voice of a trumpet. *As sure as God liveth*, is the pledge and assurance of every positive truth, that is asserted by the reason. The human understanding musing on many things snatches at truth, but is frustrated and disheartened by the fluctuating nature of its objects;* its conclusions therefore

* Ποταμῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι δις τῷ αὐτῷ κατ' Ἡράκλειτον, οὔτε θνητῆς οὐσίας δις ἄψασθαι κατὰ ἕξιν· ἀλλὰ ὀξύτητι καὶ τάχει μεταβολῆς σκιδνησι καὶ πάλιν συνάγει, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πάλιν οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἀλλ' ἅμα συνίσταται καὶ ἀπολείπει, καὶ πρόσεισι καὶ ἄπεισι ὄξεν οὐδ' εἰς τὸ εἶναι περαίνει τὸ γιγνόμενον αὐτῆς τῷ μηδέποτε λήγειν, μηδ' ἴστασθαι τὴν γένεσιν, κ. τ. λ.

are timid and uncertain, and it hath no way of giving permanence to things but by reducing them to abstractions. *Hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour do we find the things that are before us ; but all certain knowledge is in the power of God, and a presence from above.* So only have the ways of men been reformed, and every doctrine that contains a saving truth, and all acts pleasing to God (in other words, all actions consonant with human nature, in its original intention) are through wisdom ; that is, the rational spirit of man.

This then is the prerogative of the Bible ; this is the privilege of its believing students. With them the principle of knowledge is likewise a spring and principle of action. And as it is the only certain knowledge, so are the actions that flow from it the only ones on which a secure reliance can be placed. The understanding may suggest motives, may avail itself of motives, and make judicious conjectures respecting the probable consequences of actions. But the knowledge taught in the Scriptures produces the motives, involves the consequences ; and its highest *formula* is still : *As sure as God liveth, so will it be unto thee !* Strange as this position will appear to such as forget that motives can be causes only in a secondary and improper sense, inasmuch as the man makes the motive, not the motives the man ; yet all history bears evidence to its truth. The sense of expediency, the cautious balancing of compa-

rative advantages, the constant wakefulness to the *Cui bono?*—in connection with the *Quid mihi?*—all these are in their places in the routine of conduct, by which the individual provides for himself the real or supposed wants of to-day and to-morrow: and in quiet times and prosperous circumstances a nation presents an aggregate of such individuals, a busy ant-hill in calm and sunshine. By the happy organization of a well-governed society the contradictory interests of ten millions of such individuals may neutralize each other, and be reconciled in the unity of the national interest. But whence did this happy organization first come? Was it a tree transplanted from Paradise, with all its branches in full fruitage? Or was it sowed in sunshine? Was it in vernal breezes and gentle rains that it fixed its roots, and grew and strengthened? Let history answer these questions. With blood was it planted; it was rocked in tempests; the goat, the ass, and the stag gnawed it; the wild boar has whetted his tusks on its bark. The deep scars are still extant on its trunk, and the path of the lightning may be traced among its higher branches. And even after its full growth, in the season of its strength, *when its height reached to the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth*, the whirlwind has more than once forced its stately top to touch the ground: it has been bent like a bow, and sprang back like a shaft. Mightier powers were at work than expediency ever yet called up; yea, mightier than the mere under

standing can comprehend. One confirmation of the latter assertion you may find in the history of our country, written by the same Scotch philosopher who devoted his life to the undermining of the Christian religion; and expended his last breath in a blasphemous regret that he had not survived it;—by the same heartless sophist who, in this island, was the main pioneer of that atheistic philosophy, which in France transvenomed the natural thirst of truth into the *hydrophobia* of a wild and homeless scepticism; 'the Elias of that Spirit of Anti-christ, which

——— still promising
 Freedom, itself too sensual to be free,
 Poisons life's amities and cheats the soul
 Of faith, and quiet hope and all that lifts
 And all that soothes the spirit!*

This inadequacy of the mere understanding to the apprehension of moral greatness we may trace in this historian's cool systematic attempt to steal away every feeling of reverence for every great name by a scheme of motives, in which as often as possible the efforts and enterprises of heroic spirits are attributed to this or that paltry view of the most despicable selfishness. But in the majority of instances this would have been too palpably false and slanderous: and therefore the founders and martyrs of our Church and Constitution, of our civil and religious liberty, are represented as fanatics and bewildered enthusiasts. But histories

* Poet. Works, I. p. 137.—Ed.

incomparably more authentic than Mr. Hume's, (nay, spite of himself even his own history,) confirm by irrefragable evidence the aphorism of ancient wisdom, that nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm. For what is enthusiasm but the oblivion and swallowing-up of self in an object dearer than self, or in an idea more vivid? How this is produced in the enthusiasm of wickedness, I have explained in the second Comment annexed to this Discourse. But in the genuine enthusiasm of morals, religion, and patriotism, this enlargement and elevation of the soul above its mere self attest the presence, and accompany the intuition, of ultimate principles alone. These alone can interest the undegraded human spirit deeply and enduringly, because these alone belong to its essence, and will remain with it permanently.

Notions, the depthless abstractions of fleeting *phænomena*, the shadows of sailing vapors, the colorless repetitions of rainbows, have effected their utmost when they have added to the distinctness of our knowledge. For this very cause they are of themselves adverse to lofty emotion, and it requires the influence of a light and warmth, not their own, to make them crystallize into a semblance of growth. But every principle is actualized by an idea; and every idea is living, productive, partaketh of infinity, and (as Bacon has sublimely observed) containeth an endless power of semination. Hence it is, that science, which consists wholly in ideas and principles, is power. *Scientia et potentia* (saith the same philosopher) *in idem*

coincidunt. Hence too it is, that notions, linked arguments, reference to particular facts and calculations of prudence, influence only the comparatively few, the men of leisurely minds who have been trained up to them : and even these few they influence but faintly. But for the reverse, I appeal to the general character of the doctrines which have collected the most numerous sects, and acted upon the moral being of the converts with a force that might well seem supernatural. The great principles of our religion, the sublime ideas spoken out everywhere in the Old and New Testament, resemble the fixed stars, which appear of the same size to the naked as to the armed eye ; the magnitude of which the telescope may rather seem to diminish than to increase. At the annunciation of principles, of ideas, the soul of man awakes and starts up, as an exile in a far distant land at the unexpected sounds of his native language, when after long years of absence, and almost of oblivion, he is suddenly addressed in his own mother-tongue. He weeps for joy, and embraces the speaker as his brother. How else can we explain the fact so honorable to Great Britain, that the poorest* amongst us will contend with as much enthusiasm as the richest for the rights of property ? These

* The reader will remember the anecdote told with so much humour in Goldsmith's Essay. But this is not the first instance where the mind in its hour of meditation finds matter of admiration and elevating thought in circumstances that in a different mood had excited its mirth.

rights are the spheres and necessary conditions of free agency. But free agency contains the idea of the free will; and in this he intuitively knows the sublimity, and the infinite hopes, fears, and capabilities of his own nature. On what other ground but the cognateness of ideas and principles to man as man does the nameless soldier rush to the combat in defence of the liberties or the honor of his country?—Even men woefully neglectful of the precepts of religion will shed their blood for its truth.

Alas!—the main hindrance to the use of the Scriptures, as your manual, lies in the notion that you are already acquainted with its contents. Something new must be presented to you, wholly new and wholly out of yourselves; for whatever is within us must be as old as the first dawn of human reason. Truths of all others the most awful and mysterious and at the same time of universal interest are considered so true as to lose all the powers of truth, and lie bed-ridden in the dormitory of the soul, side by side with the most despised and exploded errors. But it should not be so with you! The pride of education, the sense of consistency should preclude the objection: for would you not be ashamed to apply it to the works of Tacitus, or of Shakspeare? Above all, the rank which you hold, the influence you possess, the powers you may be called to wield, give a special unfitness to this frivolous craving for novelty. To find no contradiction in the union of old and

new, to contemplate the Ancient of days, his words and his works, with a feeling as fresh as if they were now first springing forth at his *fiat*—this characterizes the minds that feel the riddle of the world and may help to unravel it. This, most of all things, will raise you above the mass of mankind, and therefore will best entitle and qualify you to guide and control them. You say, you are already familiar with the Scriptures. With the words, perhaps, but in any other sense you might as wisely boast of your familiar acquaintance with the rays of the sun, and under that pretence turn away your eyes from the light of heaven.

Or would you wish for authorities, for great examples? You may find them in the writings of Thuanus, of Clarendon, of More, of Raleigh; and in the life and letters of the heroic Gustavus Adolphus. But these, though eminent statesmen, were Christians, and might lie under the thralldom of habit and prejudice. I will refer you then to authorities of two great men, both pagans; but removed from each other by many centuries, and not more distant in their ages than in their characters and situations. The first shall be that of Heraclitus, the sad and recluse philosopher. Πολυμαθὴν νόον οὐ διδάσκει. Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι ἀγελαστὰ καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγόμενη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν.*

* Multiscience (or a variety and quantity of acquired knowledge) does not teach intelligence. But the Sibyll

Shall we hesitate to apply to the prophets of God, what could be affirmed of the Sibyls by a philosopher whom Socrates, the prince of philosophers, venerated for the profundity of his wisdom?

For the other, I will refer you to the darling of the polished court of Augustus, to the man whose works have been in all ages deemed the models of good sense, and are still the pocket companions of those who pride themselves on uniting the scholar with the gentleman. This accomplished man of the world has given an account of the subjects of conversation between the illustrious statesmen who governed, and the brightest luminaries who then adorned, the empire of the civilized world:

*Sermo oritur non de villis domibusve alienis
Nec, male nec ne Lepos saltet. Sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agitamus: utrumne
Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati;
Et quod sit natura boni, summumque quid ejus.**

with wild enthusiastic mouth shrilling forth unmirthful, nornate, and unperfumed truths, reaches to a thousand years, with her voice through the power of God.

———— Not her's
To win the sense by words of rhetoric,
Lip-blossoms breathing perishable sweets;
But by the power of the informing Word
Roll sounding onward through a thousand years
Her deep prophetic bodements.

Lit. Rem. III. p. 419.—*Ed.*

* Hor. Serm. II. t. 6. 71, &c.

Berkeley indeed asserts, and is supported in his assertion by the great statesmen, Lord Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh, that without an habitual interest in these subjects a man may be a dexterous intriguer, but never can be a statesman.

But do you require some one or more particular passage from the Bible, that may at once illustrate and exemplify its applicability to the changes and fortunes of empires? Of the numerous chapters that relate to the Jewish tribes, their enemies and allies, before and after their division into two kingdoms, it would be more difficult to state a single one from which some guiding light might not be struck. And in nothing is Scriptural history more strongly contrasted with the histories of highest note in the present age, than in its freedom from the hollowness of abstractions. While the latter present a shadow-fight of things and quantities, the former gives us the history of men, and balances the important influence of individual minds with the previous state of the national morals and manners, in which, as constituting a specific susceptibility, it presents to us the true cause both of the influence itself, and of the weal or woe that were its consequents. How should it be otherwise? The histories and political economy of the present and preceding century partake in the general contagion of its mechanic philosophy, and are the product of an unenlivened generalizing understanding. In the Scriptures they are the living educts of the imagination; of that recon-

cing and mediatory power, which incorporating the reason in images of the sense, and organizing (as it were) the flux of the senses by the permanence and self-circling energies of the reason, gives birth to a system of symbols, harmonious in themselves, and consubstantial with the truths of which they are the conductors. These are the *wheels* which Ezekiel beheld, when the hand of the Lord was upon him, and he saw visions of God as he sate among the captives by the river of Chebar. *Whithersoever the Spirit was to go, the wheels went, and thither was their spirit to go:—for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels also.** The truths and the symbols that represent them move in conjunction and form the living chariot that bears up (for us) the throne of the Divine Humanity. Hence, by a derivative, indeed, but not a divided, influence, and though in a secondary yet in more than a metaphorical sense, the Sacred Book is worthily entitled *the Word of God*. Hence too, its contents present to us the stream of time continuous as life and a symbol of eternity, inasmuch as the past and the future are virtually contained in the present. According therefore to our relative position on the banks of this stream the Sacred History becomes prophetic, the Sacred Prophecies historical, while the power and substance of both inhere in its laws, its promises, and its comminations. In the Scrip-

* *Ezek. i. 20.*

tures therefore both facts and persons must of necessity have a two-fold significance, a past and a future, a temporary and a perpetual, a particular and a universal application. They must be at once portraits and ideals.

Eheu ! paupertina philosophia in paupertinam religionem ducit :—A hunger-bitten and idea-less philosophy naturally produces a starveling and comfortless religion. It is among the miseries of the present age that it recognizes no *medium* between literal and metaphorical. Faith is either to be buried in the dead letter, or its name and honors usurped by a counterfeit product of the mechanical understanding, which in the blindness of self-complacency confounds symbols with allegories. Now an allegory is but a translation of abstract notions into a picture-language, which is itself nothing but an abstraction from objects of the senses; the principal being more worthless even than its phantom proxy, both alike unsubstantial, and the former shapeless to boot. On the other hand a symbol (*ὁ ἔστιν ἀεὶ ταυτηγόρικον*) is characterized by a translucence of the special in the individual, or of the general in the special, or of the universal in the general; above all by the translucence of the eternal through and in the temporal. It always partakes of the reality which it renders intelligible; and while it enunciates the whole, abides itself as a living part in that unity of which it is the representative. The other are but empty echoes which the fancy arbitrarily asso-

ciates with apparitions of matter, less beautiful but not less shadowy than the sloping orchard or hill-side pasture-field seen in the transparent lake below. Alas, for the flocks that are to be led forth to such pastures! *It shall even be as when a hungry man dreameth, and behold, he eateth; but he awaketh and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and behold he drinketh; but he awaketh and behold, he is faint!** O! that we would seek for the bread which was given from heaven, that we should eat thereof and be strengthened! O that we would draw at the well at which the flocks of our forefathers had living water drawn for them, even that water which, instead of mocking the thirst of him to whom it is given, becomes a well within himself *springing up to life everlasting!*

When we reflect how large a part of our present knowledge and civilization is owing, directly or indirectly, to the Bible; when we are compelled to admit, as a fact of history, that the Bible has been the main lever by which the moral and intellectual character of Europe has been raised to its present comparative height; we should be struck, methinks, by the marked and prominent difference of this book from the works which it is now the fashion to quote as guides and authorities in morals, politics, and history. I will point out a few of the excellencies by which the one is dis-

* *Is.* xxix. 8.—*Ed.*

tinguished, and shall leave it to your own judgment and recollection to perceive and apply the contrast to the productions of highest name in these latter days. In the Bible every agent appears and acts as a self-subsisting individual; each has a life of its own, and yet all are one life. The elements of necessity and free-will are reconciled in the higher power of an omnipresent Providence, that predestinates the whole in the moral freedom of the integral parts. Of this the Bible never suffers us to lose sight. The root is never detached from the ground. It is God everywhere: and all creatures conform to his decrees, the righteous by performance of the law, the disobedient by the sufferance of the penalty.

Suffer me to inform or remind you, that there is a threefold necessity. There is a logical, and there is a mathematical necessity; but the latter is always hypothetical, and both subsist formally only, not in any real object. Only by the intuition and immediate spiritual consciousness of the idea of God, as the One and Absolute, at once the ground and the cause, who alone containeth in himself the ground of his own nature, and therein of all natures, do we arrive at the third, which alone is a real objective, necessity. Here the immediate consciousness decides: the idea is its own evidence, and is insusceptible of all other. It is necessarily groundless and indemonstrable; because it is itself the ground of all possible demonstration. The reason hath faith in itself in its

own revelations. Ο λόγος ἔφη. *Ipsè dixit.* So it is: for it is so. All the necessity of causal relations (which the mere understanding reduces, and must reduce to co-existence and regular succession* in the objects of which they are predicated, and to habit and association in the mind predicated) depends on, or rather inheres in, the idea of the omnipresent and absolute: for this it is, in which the possible is one and the same with the real and the necessary. Herein the Bible differs from all the books of Greek philosophy, and in a two-fold manner. It doth not affirm a divine nature only, but a God: and not a God only, but the living God. Hence in the Scriptures alone is the *jus divinum*, or direct relation of the state and its magistracy to the Supreme Being, taught as a vital and indispensable part of all moral and of all political wisdom, even as the Jewish alone was a true theocracy.

Were it my object to touch on the present state of public affairs in this kingdom, or on the prospective measures in agitation respecting our sister island, I would direct your most serious meditations to the latter period of the reign of Solomon, and to the revolutions in the reign of Rehoboam, his successor. But I should tread on glowing embers. I will turn to a subject on which all

* See Hume's Essays. The sophist evades, as Cicero long ago remarked, the better half of the predicament, which is not *præire* but *efficienter præire*.

men of reflection are at length in agreement—the causes of the Revolution and fearful chastisement of France. We have learned to trace them back to the rising importance of the commercial and manufacturing class, and its incompatibility with the old feudal privileges and prescriptions; to the spirit of sensuality and ostentation, which from the court had spread through all the towns and cities of the kingdom; to the predominance of a presumptuous and irreligious philosophy; to the extreme over-rating of the knowledge and power given by the improvements of the arts and sciences, especially those of astronomy, mechanics, and a wonder-working chemistry; to an assumption of prophetic power, and the general conceit that states and governments might be and ought to be constructed as machines, every movement of which might be foreseen and taken into previous calculation; to the consequent multitude of plans and constitutions, of planners and constitution-makers, and the remorseless arrogance with which the authors and proselytes of every new proposal were ready to realize it, be the cost what it might in the established rights, or even in the lives, of men; in short, to restlessness, presumption, sensual indulgence, and the idolatrous reliance on false philosophy in the whole domestic, social, and political life of the stirring and effective part of the community: these all acting, at once and together, on a mass of materials supplied by the unfeeling extravagance and oppressions of the go-

vernment, which *shewed no mercy, and very heavily laid its yoke.*

Turn then to the chapter from which the last words were cited, and read the following seven verses; and I am deceived if you will not be compelled to admit that the Prophet revealed the true philosophy of the French revolution more than two thousand years before it became a sad irrevocable truth of history. *And thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever: so that thou didst not lay these things to thy heart, neither didst remember the latter end of it. Therefore, hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, I am, and none else beside me! I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children. But these two things shall come to thee in a moment, in one day; the loss of children, and widowhood; they shall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments. For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness; thou hast said, none seeth me. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee; and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else beside me. Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know* from whence it riseth: and mischief*

* The reader will scarcely fail to find in this verse a remembrancer of the sudden setting-in of the frost, a fortnight before the usual time (in a country too, where the

shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off; and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. (Is. xlvii. 7, &c.)

There is a grace that would enable us to take up vipers, and the evil thing shall not hurt us: a spiritual alchemy which can transmute poisons into a *panacea*. We are counselled by our Lord himself to make unto ourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness: and in this age of sharp contrasts and grotesque combinations it would be a wise method of sympathizing with the

commencement of its two seasons is in general scarcely less regular than that of the wet and dry seasons between the tropics) which caused, and the desolation which accompanied, the flight from Moscow. The Russians baffled the physical forces of the imperial Jacobin, because they were inaccessible to his imaginary forces. The faith in St. Nicholas kept off at safe distance the more pernicious superstition of the destinies of Napoleon the Great. The English in the Peninsula overcame the real, because they set at defiance, and had heard only to despise, the imaginary powers of the irresistible Emperor. Thank Heaven! the heart of the country was sound at the core.

tone and spirit of the times, if we elevated even our daily newspapers and political journals into comments on the Bible.

When I named this Essay a Sermon, I sought to prepare the inquirers after it for the absence of all the usual softenings suggested by worldly prudence, of all compromise between truth and courtesy. But not even as a sermon would I have addressed the present discourse to a promiscuous audience ; and for this reason I likewise announced it in the title-page, as exclusively *ad clerum* ; that is, (in the old and wide sense of the word) to men of clerky acquirements of whatever profession. I would that the greater part of our publications could be thus directed, each to its appropriate class of readers. But this cannot be. For among other odd burs and kecksies, the misgrowth of our luxuriant activity, we have now a Reading Public*—

* Some participle passive in the diminutive form, *Eruditulorum Natio* for instance, might seem at first sight a fuller and more exact designation ; but the superior force and humor of the former become evident whenever the phrase occurs as a step or stair in a *climax* of irony. By way of example take the following sentences, transcribed from a work demonstrating that the New Testament was intended exclusively for the primitive converts from Judaism, was accommodated to their prejudices, and is of no authority, as a rule of faith, for Christians in general. “The Reading Public in this enlightened age and thinking nation, by its favorable reception of liberal ideas, has long demonstrated the benign influence of that profound philosophy which has already emancipated us from so many absurd prejudices held in superstitious awe by our deluded fore-

as strange a phrase, methinks, as ever forced a splenetic smile on the staid countenance of meditation; and yet no fiction. For our readers have, in good truth, multiplied exceedingly, and have waxed proud. It would require the intrepid accuracy of a Colquhoun to venture at the precise number of that vast company only, whose heads and hearts are dieted at the two public ordinaries of literature, the circulating libraries and the periodical press. But what is the result? Does the

fathers. But the dark age yielded at length to the dawning light of reason and common sense at the glorious, though imperfect, Revolution. The People can be no longer duped or scared out of their imprescriptible and inalienable right to judge and decide for themselves on all important questions of government and religion. The scholastic jargon of jarring articles and metaphysical creeds may continue for a time to deform our Church-establishment; and like the grotesque figures in the niches of our old Gothic cathedrals, may serve to remind the nation of its former barbarism; but the universal suffrage of a free and enlightened Public," &c. &c.

Among the revolutions worthy of notice, the change in the nature of the introductory sentences and prefatory matter in serious books is not the least striking. The same gross flattery which disgusts us in the dedications to individuals in the elder writers, is now transferred to the nation at large, or the Reading Public: while the Jeremiads of our old moralists, and their angry denunciations concerning the ignorance, immorality, and irreligion of the People, appear (*mutatis mutandis*, and with an appeal to the worst passions, envy, discontent, scorn, vindictiveness,) in the shape of bitter libels on ministers, parliament, the clergy: in short, on the State and Church, and all persons employed in them.

inward man thrive on this regimen? Alas! if the average health of the consumers may be judged of by the articles of largest consumption; if the secretions may be conjectured from the ingredients of the dishes that are found best suited to their palates; from all that I have seen, either of the banquet or the guests, I shall utter my *profaccia* with a desponding sigh. From a popular philosophy and a philosophic populace, Good Sense deliver us!

At present, however, I am to imagine for myself a very different audience. I appeal exclusively to men, from whose station and opportunities I may dare to anticipate a respectable portion of that sound book-learnedness, into which our old public schools still continue to initiate their pupils. I appeal to men in whom I may hope to find, if not philosophy, yet occasional impulses at least to philosophic thought. And here, as far as my own experience extends, I can announce one favourable symptom. The notion of our measureless superiority in good sense to our ancestors, so general at the commencement of the French Revolution, and for some years before it, is out of fashion. We hear, at least, less of the jargon of this enlightened age. After fatiguing itself, as performer or spectator in the giddy figure-dance of political changes, Europe has seen the shallow foundations of its self-complacent faith give way; and among men of influence and property, we have now more reason to apprehend the stupor of despondence, than the

extravagancies of hope, unsustained by experience, or of self-confidence not bottomed on principle.

In this rank of life the danger lies, not in any tendency to innovation, but in the choice of the means for preventing it. And here my apprehensions point to two opposite errors ; each of which deserves a separate notice. The first consists in a disposition to think, that as the peace of nations has been disturbed by the diffusion of a false light, it may be re-established by excluding the people from all knowledge and all prospect of amelioration. O ! never, never ! Reflection and stirrings of mind, with all their restlessness, and all the errors that result from their imperfection, from the Too much, because Too little, are come into the world. The powers that awaken and foster the spirit of curiosity are to be found in every village : books are in every hovel. The infant's cries are hushed with picture-books : and the cottager's child sheds his first bitter tears over pages, which render it impossible for the man to be treated or governed as a child. Here as in so many other cases, the inconveniences that have arisen from a thing's having become too general are best removed by making it universal.

The other and contrary mistake proceeds from the assumption, that a national education will have been realized whenever the people at large have been taught to read and write. Now among the many means to the desired end, this is doubtless one, and not the least important. But neither is

it the most so. Much less can it be considered to constitute education, which consists in educating the faculties and forming the habits; the means varying according to the sphere in which the individuals to be educated are likely to act and become useful. I do not hesitate to declare, that whether I consider the nature of the discipline adopted,* or the plan of poisoning the children of the poor with a sort of potential infidelity under the "liberal idea" of teaching those points only of religious faith, in which all denominations agree, I cannot but denounce the so called Lancasterian schools as pernicious beyond all power of compensation by the new acquirement of reading and writing. But take even Dr. Bell's original and unsophisticated plan, which I myself regard as an especial gift of Providence to the human race; and suppose this incomparable machine, this vast moral steam-engine, to have been adopted and in free motion throughout the Empire; it would yet appear to me a most dangerous delusion to rely on it as if this of itself formed an efficient national education. We cannot, I repeat, honor the scheme too highly

* See Mr. Southey's Tract on the New or Madras system of education: especially toward the conclusion, where with exquisite humour as well as with his usual poignancy of wit he has detailed Joseph Lancaster's disciplinarian inventions. But even in the schools, that used to be called Lancasterian, these are, I believe, discontinued. The true perfection of discipline in a school is—the *maximum* of watchfulness with the *minimum* of punishment.

as a prominent and necessary part of the great process; but it will neither supersede nor can it be substituted for sundry other measures, that are at least equally important. And these are such measures, too, as unfortunately involve the necessity of sacrifices on the side of the rich and powerful more costly and far more difficult than the yearly subscription of a few pounds;—such measures as demand more self-denial than the expenditure of time in a committee or of eloquence in a public meeting.

Nay, let Dr. Bell's philanthropic end have been realized, and the proposed *modicum* of learning have become universal; yet convinced of its insufficiency to stem the strong currents set in from an opposite point, I dare not assure myself that it may not be driven backward by them and become confluent with the evils which it was intended to preclude.*

What other measures I had in contemplation, it has been my endeavour to explain elsewhere. But I am greatly deceived, if one preliminary to an efficient education of the laboring classes be not the recurrence to a more manly discipline of the intellect on the part of the learned themselves, in short a thorough re-casting of the moulds, in

* See the Report of the House of Commons' Committee on the increase of crime;—within the last twenty years quintupled over all England, and in several counties decupled. 28th September, 1828.

which the minds of our gentry, the characters of our future land-owners, magistrates and senators, are to receive their shape and fashion. O what treasures of practical wisdom would be once more brought into open day by the solution of this problem! Suffice it for the present to hint the master-thought. The first man, on whom the light of an idea dawned, did in that same moment receive the spirit and credentials of a law-giver: and as long as man shall exist, so long will the possession of that antecedent knowledge (the maker and master of all profitable experience) which exists only in the power of an idea, be the one lawful qualification of all dominion in the world of the senses. Without this, experience itself is but a Cyclops walking backwards under the fascination of the past: and we are indebted to a lucky coincidence of outward circumstances and contingencies, least of all things to be calculated on in times like the present, if this one-eyed experience does not seduce its worshipper into practical anachronisms.

But alas! the halls of old philosophy have been so long deserted, that we circle them at shy distance as the haunt of phantoms and chimæras.* The sacred grove of Academus is holden in like regard with the unfoodful trees in the shadowy world of Maro that had a dream attached to every leaf. The very terms of ancient wisdom are worn

* See App. (E). *Ed.*

out, or (far worse!) stamped on baser metal: and whoever should have the hardihood to reproclaim its solemn truths must commence with a glossary.

In reviewing the foregoing pages, I am apprehensive that they may be thought to resemble the overflow of an earnest mind rather than an orderly premeditated composition. Yet this imperfection of form will not be altogether uncompensated, if it should be the means of presenting with greater liveliness the feelings and impressions under which they were written. Still less shall I regret this defect if it should induce some future traveller engaged in the like journey to take the same station and to look through the same *medium* at the one main object which amid all my discursions I have still kept in view. The more, however, doth it behove me not to conclude this address without attempting to recapitulate in as few and as plain words as possible the sum and substance of its contents.

There is a state of mind indispensable for all perusal of the Scriptures to edification, which must be learned by experience, and can be described only by negatives. It is the direct opposite of that which, if a moral passage of Scripture were cited, would prompt a man to reply, "Who does not know this?" But if the quotation should have been made in support of some article of faith, this same habit of mind will betray itself in different individuals, by apparent contraries, which yet are but the two poles, or *plus* and *minus* states, of the

same influence. The latter, or the negative, pole may be suspected, as often as you hear a comment on some high and doctrinal text introduced with the words, "It only means so and so!" For instance, I object to a professed free-thinking Christian the following solemn enunciation of *the riches of the glory of the mystery hid from ages and from generations* by the philosophic Apostle of the Gentiles:—*Who (namely, the Father) hath delivered us from the power of darkness and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son: In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins: Who is the image of the invisible God, the first born* of every creature: For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him: And he is before all things, and by him all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the Church: who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he might have the preeminence. For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell: And, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, I say, whether*

* A mistaken translation. The words should be: *Begotten before any kind of creation*; and even this does not convey the full sense of the superlative, *πρωτότοκος*. (See Table Talk, p. 260. 2nd edit. Ed.)

they be things in earth, or things in heaven. Col. i. 13, &c. What is the reply?—Why, that by these words (very bold and figurative words it must be confessed, yet still) St. Paul only meant that the universal and eternal truths of morality and a future state had been reproclaimed by an inspired teacher and confirmed by miracles!* The words only mean, Sir, that a state of retribution after this life had been proved by the fact of Christ's resurrection—that is all!

Of the positive pole, on the other hand, language to the following purport is the usual exponent. "It is a mystery: and we are bound to believe the words without presuming to inquire into the meaning of them." That is, we believe in St. Paul's veracity; and that is enough. Yet St. Paul repeatedly presses on his hearers that thoughtful perusal of the Sacred Writings, and those habits of earnest though humble inquiry which, if the heart only have been previously regenerated, would lead them *to a full assurance* of understanding *εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν*, (*to an entire assent of the mind*;

* But I shall scarcely obtain an answer to certain difficulties involved in this free and liberal interpretation: for example, that with the exception of a handful of rich men considered as little better than infidels, the Jews were as fully persuaded of these truths as Christians in general are at the present day. Moreover that this inspired teacher had himself declared that if the Jews did not believe on the evidence of Moses and the Prophets, neither would they though a man should rise from the dead.

to a spiritual intuition, or positive inward knowledge by experience) of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ, in which (*nempe, μυστηρίῳ*) are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Col. ii. 2, 3.

To expose the inconsistency of both these extremes, and by inference to recommend that state of mind, which looks forward to *the fellowship of the mystery of the faith as a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of God, the eyes of the understanding being enlightened* (Eph. i. 17—18.)—this formed my general purpose. Long has it been at my heart! I consider it as the contradicting principle of Christianity that in it alone *πᾶς πλοῦτος τῆς πληροφορίας τῆς συνέσεως* (the understanding in its utmost power and opulence) culminates in faith, as in its crown of glory, at once its light and its remuneration. On this most important point I attempted long ago to preclude, if possible, all misconception and misinterpretation of my opinions. Alas! in this time of distress and embarrassment the sentiments have a more especial interest, a more immediate application, than when they were first written. If (I observed)* it be a truth attested alike by common feeling and common sense, that the greater part of human misery depends directly on human vices, and the remainder indirectly, by what means can we act on men, so as to remove or preclude their vices and purify

* The Friend, I. p. 134, 3rd edit. Ed.

their principles of moral election? The question is not by what means each man is to alter his own character;—in order to this, all the means prescribed, and all the aidances given by religion may be necessary for him. Vain of themselves may be—

The sayings of the wise
In ancient and in modern books inroll'd

.

Unless he feel within
Some source of consolation from above,
Secret refreshings, that repair his strength,
And fainting spirits uphold.

SAMSON AGONISTES.

This is not the question. Virtue would not be virtue could it be given by one fellow creature to another. To make use of all the means and appliances in our power to the actual attainment of rectitude, is the abstract of the duty which we owe to ourselves: to supply those means as far as we can, comprises our duty to others. The question then is, what are these means? Can they be any other than the communication of knowledge and the removal of those evils and impediments which prevent its reception? It may not be in our power to combine both, but it is in the power of every man to contribute to the former, who is sufficiently informed to feel that it is his duty. If it be said, that we should endeavour not so much to remove ignorance, as to make the ignorant religious: religion herself through her sacred oracles answers

for me, that all effective faith pre-supposes knowledge and individual conviction. If the mere acquiescence in truth, uncomprehended and unfathomed, were sufficient, few indeed would be the vicious and the miserable, in this country at least where speculative infidelity is, Heaven be praised ! confined to a small number. Like bodily deformity, there is one instance here and another there ; but three in one place are already an undue proportion. It is highly worthy of observation that the inspired Writings received by Christians are distinguishable from all other books pretending to inspiration, from the scriptures of the Bramins, and even from the Koran, in their strong and frequent recommendations of truth. I do not here mean veracity, which cannot but be enforced in every code which appeals to the religious principle of man ; but knowledge. This is not only extolled as the crown and honor of a man, but to seek after it is again and again commanded us as one of our most sacred duties. Yea, the very perfection and final bliss of the glorified spirit is represented by the Apostle as a plain aspect or intuitive beholding of truth in its eternal and immutable source. Not that knowledge can of itself do all. The light of religion is not that of the moon, light without heat ; but neither is its warmth that of the stove, warmth without light. Religion is the sun whose warmth indeed swells, and stirs, and actuates the life of nature, but who at the same time beholds all the growth of life

with a master-eye, makes all objects glorious on which he looks, and by that glory visible to others.

For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would grant you according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ which passeth all knowledge, that ye might be filled with the fulness of God. (Eph. iii. 14—19.) For to know God is (by a vital and spiritual act in which to know and to possess are one and indivisible)—to know God, I say, is—to acknowledge him as the infinite clearness in the incomprehensible fulness, and fulness incomprehensible with infinite clearness.

This then comprises my first purpose, which is in a two fold sense general: for in the substance, if not in the form, it belongs to all my countrymen and fellow-Christians without distinction of class, while for its object it embraces the whole of the inspired Scriptures from the recorded first day of heaven and earth, ere the light was yet gathered into celestial lamps or reflected from their revolving mirrors, to the predicted Sabbath of the new creation, when heaven and earth shall have become one city with neither *sun nor moon to shine in it*: for the glory of God shall lighten it

and the Lamb be the light thereof. My second purpose is after the same manner in a two fold sense specific : for as this Sermon is nominally addressed to, so was it for the greater part exclusively intended for, the perusal of the learned : and its object likewise is to urge men so qualified to apply their powers and attainments to an especial study of the Old Testament as teaching the elements of political science.

It is asked, in what sense I use these words ? I answer : in the same sense as the terms are employed when we refer to Euclid for the elements of the science of geometry, only with one difference arising from the diversity of the subject. With one difference only ; but that one how momentous ! All other sciences are confined to abstractions, unless when the term science is used in an improper and flattering sense.—Thus we may speak without boast of natural history ; but we have not yet attained to a science of nature. The Bible alone contains a science of realities : and therefore each of its elements is at the same time a living germ, in which the present involves the future, and in the finite the infinite exists potentially. That hidden mystery in every the minutest form of existence, which contemplated under the relations of time presents itself to the understanding retrospectively, as an infinite ascent of causes, and prospectively as an interminable progression of effects ;—that which contemplated in space is beholden intuitively as a law of action

and re-action, continuous and extending beyond all bound;—this same mystery freed from the *phænomena* of time and space, and seen in the depth of real being, reveals itself to the pure reason as the actual immanence or in-being* of all in each. Are we struck with admiration at beholding the cope of heaven imaged in a dew-drop? The least of the *animalcula* to which that drop would be an ocean contains in itself an infinite problem of which God omni-present is the only solution. The slave of custom is roused by the rare and the accidental alone; but the axioms of the unthinking are to the philosopher the deepest problems as being the nearest to the mysterious root and partaking at once of its darkness and its pregnancy.

·O what a mine of undiscovered treasures, what a new world of power and truth would the Bible promise to our future meditation, if in some gracious moment one solitary text of all its inspired contents should but dawn upon us in the pure untroubled brightness of an idea, that most glorious birth of the God-like within us, which even as the light, its material symbol, reflects itself from a thousand surfaces, and flies homeward to its Parent Mind enriched with a thousand forms, itself above form and still remaining in its own sim-

* In-being is the word chosen by Bishop Sherlock to express this sense. See his Tract on the Athanasian Creed. 1827.

plicity and identity! O for a flash of that same light, in which the first position of geometric science that ever loosed itself from the generalizations of a groping and insecure experience, for the first time revealed itself to a human intellect in all its evidence and all its fruitfulness, transparency without *vacuum*, and plenitude without opacity! O that a single gleam of our own inward experience would make comprehensible to us the rapturous Eureka, and the grateful hecatomb, of the philosopher of Samos;—or that vision which from the contemplation of an arithmetical harmony rose to the eye of Kepler, presenting the planetary world, and all its orbits in the divine order of their ranks and distances;—or which, in the falling of an apple, revealed to the ethereal intuition of our own Newton the constructive principle of the material universe. The promises which I have ventured to hold forth concerning the hidden treasures of the Law and the Prophets will neither be condemned as paradox or as exaggeration by the mind that has learned to understand the possibility, that the reduction of the sands of the sea to number should be found a less stupendous problem by Archimedes than the simple conception of the Parmenidean ONE. What however is achievable by the human understanding without this light, may be comprised in the epithet, *κενόσπεδοι*: and a melancholy comment on that phrase would the history of human cabinets and legislators for the last thirty years furnish! The

excellent Barrow, the last of the disciples of Plato and Archimedes among our modern mathematicians, shall give the description and state the value : and in his words I shall conclude.

“ *Aliud agere*, to be impertinently busy, doing that which conduceth to no good purpose, is in some respect worse than to do nothing. Of such industry we may understand that of the Preacher, *The labor of the foolish wearieth every one of them.*”

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING COMMENTS AND ESSAYS.

(A.)

IN this use of the word ‘sufficiency,’ I pre-suppose on the part of the reader or hearer an humble and docile state of mind, and above all the practice of prayer, as the necessary condition of such a state, and the best if not the only means of becoming sincere to our own hearts. Christianity is especially differenced from all other religions by being grounded on facts which all men alike have the same means of ascertaining with equal facility, and which no man can ascertain for another. Each person must be herein querist and respondent to himself; Am I sick, and therefore need a physician?—Am I in spiritual slavery, and therefore need a ransom?—Have I given a pledge, which must be redeemed, and which I cannot redeem by my own resources?—Am I at one with God, and is my will concentric with that holy power, which is at once the constitutive will and the supreme reason of the universe?—If not, must I not be mad if I do not seek, and miserable if I do not discover and embrace, the means of atonement?* To collect, to weigh, and to appreciate historical proofs and presumptions is not equally within the

* This is a mistaken etymology, and consequently a dull, though unintentional, pun. Our *atone* is, doubtless, of the same stock with the Teutonic *aussöhnen*, *versöhnen*, the Anglo-Saxon taking the *t* for the *s*.

means and opportunities of every man. The testimony of books of history is one of the strong and stately pillars of the Church of Christ; but it is not the foundation, nor can it without loss of essential faith be mistaken or substituted for the foundation. There is a sect, which in its scornful pride of antipathy to mysteries (that is, to all those doctrines of the pure and intuitive reason, which transcend the understanding, and can never be contemplated by it, but through a false and falsifying perspective) affects to condemn all inward and preliminary experience as enthusiastic delusion or fanatical contagion. Historic evidence, on the other hand, these men treat, as the Jews of old treated the brazen serpent, which was the relic and evidence of the miracles worked by Moses in the wilderness. They turned it into an idol: and therefore Hezekiah (*who clave to the Lord, and did right in the sight of the Lord, so that after him was none like him, among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him*) not only removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves; but likewise brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for the children of Israel did burn incense to it. (2 Kings xviii.)

To preclude an error so pernicious, I request that to the wilful neglect of those outward ministrations of the word which all Englishmen have the privilege of attending, the reader will add the setting at nought likewise of those inward means of grace, without which the language of the Scriptures, in the most faithful translation and in the purest and plainest English, must nevertheless continue to be a dead language,—a sun-dial by moonlight.

(B.)

Reason and Religion differ only as a two-fold application of the same power. But if we are obliged to distinguish, we must ideally separate. In this sense I affirm that reason is the knowledge of the laws of the whole

considered as one: and as such it is contradistinguished from the understanding, which concerns itself exclusively with the quantities, qualities, and relations of particulars in time and space. The understanding, therefore, is the science of *phænomena*, and of their subsumption under distinct kinds and sorts, (*genera* and *species*.) Its functions supply the rules and constitute the possibility of experience; but remain mere logical forms, except as far as materials are given by the senses or sensations. The reason, on the other hand, is the science of the universal, having the ideas of oneness and allness as its two elements or primary factors. In the language of the old Schools,

Unity + Omneity = Totality.

The reason first manifests itself in man by the tendency to the comprehension of all as one. We can neither rest in an infinite that is not at the same time a whole, nor in a whole that is not infinite. Hence the natural man is always in a state either of resistance or of captivity to the understanding and the fancy, which cannot represent totality without limit: and he either loses the one in the striving after the infinite, that is, atheism with or without polytheism, or he loses the infinite in the striving after the one, and then sinks into anthropomorphic monotheism.

The rational instinct, therefore, taken abstractedly and unbalanced, did, in itself, (*ye shall be as gods*, Gen. iii. 5.) and in its consequences, (the lusts of the flesh, the eye, and the understanding, as in v. 5.) form the original temptation, through which man fell: and in all ages has continued to originate the same, even from Adam, in whom we all fell, to the atheists who deified the human reason in the person of a harlot during the earlier period of the French Revolution.

To this tendency, therefore, religion, as the consideration of the particular and individual, (in which respect it takes up and identifies with itself the excellence of the understanding) but of the individual, as it exists and has

its being in the universal (in which respect it is one with the pure reason,)—to this tendency, I say, religion assigns the due limits, and is the echo of the *voice of the Lord God walking in the garden*. Hence in all the ages and countries of civilization religion has been the parent and fosterer of the fine arts, as of poetry, music, painting, and the like, the common essence of which consists in a similar union of the universal and the individual. In this union, moreover, is contained the true sense of the ideal. Under the old Law the altar, the curtains, the priestly vestments, and whatever else was to represent the beauty of holiness, had an ideal character: and the Temple itself was a master-piece of ideal beauty.

There exists in the human being, at least in man fully developed, no mean symbol of tri-unity in reason, religion, and the will. For each of the three, though a distinct agency, implies and demands the other two, and loses its own nature at the moment that from distinction it passes into division or separation. The perfect frame of a man is the perfect frame of a state: and in the light of this idea we must read Plato's Republic.*

The comprehension, impartiality, and far-sightedness of reason, (the legislative of our nature) taken singly and exclusively, becomes mere visionariness in intellect, and indolence or hard-heartedness in morals. It is the science of cosmopolitanism without country, of philanthropy without neighbourliness or consanguinity, in short, of all the impostures of that philosophy of the French Revolution, which would sacrifice each to the shadowy idol of all. For Jacobinism is *monstrum hybridum*, made up in part of despotism, or the lust of rule grounded in selfness; and in part of abstract reason misapplied to objects that be-

* If I judge rightly, this celebrated work is to 'The History of the Town of Man-soul,' what Plato was to John Bunyan.

long entirely to experience and the understanding. Its instincts and mode of action are in strict correspondence with its origin. In all places, Jacobinism betrays its mixed parentage and nature by applying to the brute passions and physical force of the multitude (that is, to man as a mere animal,) in order to build up government and the frame of society on natural rights instead of social privileges, on the universals of abstract reason instead of positive institutions, the lights of specific experience, and the modifications of existing circumstances. Right in its most proper sense is the creature of law and statute, and only in the technical language of the courts has it any substantial and independent sense. In morals, right is a word without meaning except as the correlative of duty.

From all this it follows, that reason as the science of all as a whole must be interpenetrated by a power, that represents the concentration of all in each—a power that acts by a contraction of universal truths into individual duties, such contraction being the only form in which those truths can attain life and reality. Now this is religion, which is the executive of our nature, and on this account the name of highest dignity, and the symbol of sovereignty. To the same purport I have elsewhere defined religion as philosophy evolved from idea into act and fact by the superinduction of the extrinsic conditions of reality.

Yet even religion itself, if ever in its too exclusive devotion to the specific and individual it neglects to interpose the contemplation of the universal, changes its being into superstition, and becoming more and more earthly and servile, as more and more estranged from the one in all, goes wandering at length with its pack of amulets, bead-rolls, periapts, fetishes, and the like pedlary, on pilgrimages to Loretto, Mecca, or the temple of Jagger-naut, arm in arm with sensuality on one side and self-torture on the other, followed by a motley group of friars, pardoners, faquirs, gamesters, flagellants, mountebanks, and harlots.

But neither can reason or religion exist or co-exist as reason and religion, except as far as they are actuated by the will (the Platonic *θυμὸς*), which is the sustaining, coercive and ministerial power, the functions of which in the individual correspond to the officers of war and police in the ideal Republic of Plato. In its state of immanence or indwelling in reason and religion, the will appears indifferently as wisdom or as love: two names of the same power, the former more intelligential, the latter more spiritual, the former more frequent in the Old, the latter in the New, Testament. But in its utmost abstraction and consequent state of reprobation, the will becomes Satanic pride and rebellious self-idolatry in the relations of the spirit to itself, and remorseless despotism relatively to others; the more hopeless as the more obdurate by its subjugation of sensual impulses, by its superiority to toil and pain and pleasure; in short, by the fearful resolve to find in itself alone the one absolute motive of action, under which all other motives from within and from without must be either subordinated or crushed.

This is the character which Milton has so philosophically as well as sublimely embodied in the Satan of his *Paradise Lost*. Alas! too often has it been embodied in real life. Too often has it given a dark and savage grandeur to the historic page. And wherever it has appeared, under whatever circumstances of time and country, the same ingredients have gone to its composition; and it has been identified by the same attributes. Hope in which there is no cheerfulness; stedfastness within and immovable resolve, with outward restlessness and whirling activity; violence with guile; temerity with cunning; and, as the result of all, interminableness of object with perfect indifference of means; these are the qualities that have constituted the commanding genius; these are the marks, that have characterized the masters of mischief, the liberticides, and mighty hunters of mankind, from Nimrod to

Buonaparte. And from inattention to the possibility of such a character as well as from ignorance of its elements, even men of honest intentions too frequently become fascinated. Nay, whole nations have been so far duped by this want of insight and reflection as to regard with palliative admiration, instead of wonder and abhorrence, the Molochs of human nature, who are indebted for the larger portion of their meteoric success to their total want of principle, and who surpass the generality of their fellow creatures in one act of courage only, that of daring to say with their whole heart, ‘Evil, be thou my good!’—All system so far is power; and a systematic criminal, self-consistent and entire in wickedness, who entrenches villany within villany, and barricades crime by crime, has removed a world of obstacles by the mere decision, that he will have no obstacles, but those of force and brute matter.

I have only to add a few sentences, in completion of this comment, on the conscience* and on the understanding. The conscience is neither reason, religion, or will, but an experience *sui generis* of the coincidence of the human will with reason and religion. It might, perhaps, be called a spiritual sensation; but that there lurks a contradiction in the terms, and that it is often deceptive to give a common or generic name to that, which being unique, can have no fair analogy. In strictness, therefore, the conscience is neither a sensation nor a sense; but a testifying state, best described in the words of Scripture, as *the peace of God that passeth all understanding*.

* I have this morning read with high delight an admirable representation of what men in general think, and what ought to be thought, concerning the conscience in the translation of Swedenborg’s Universal Theology of the New Church. II. p. 361—370. 6 January, 1821.

Of the latter faculty, namely, of the understanding, considered in and of itself the Peripatetic aphorism, *nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu*, is strictly true, as well as the legal maxim, *de rebus non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*. The eye is not more inappropriate to sound, than the mere understanding to the modes and laws of spiritual existence. In this sense I have used the term; and in this sense I assert that the understanding or experiential faculty, unirradiated by the reason and the spirit, has no appropriate object but the material world in relation to our worldly interests. The far-sighted prudence of man, and the more narrow but at the same time far less fallible cunning of the fox, are both no other than a nobler substitute for salt, in order that the hog may not putrefy before its destined hour.

It must not, however, be overlooked that this insulation of the understanding is our own act and deed. The man of healthful and undivided intellect uses his understanding* in this state of abstraction only as a tool or

* Perhaps the safer use of the term, understanding, for general purposes, is, to take it as the mind, or rather as the man himself considered as a concipient as well as percipient being, and reason as a power supervening. The want of a clear notion respecting the nature of reason may be traced to the difficulty of combining the notion of an organ of sense, or a new sense, with the notion of the appropriate and peculiar objects of that sense, so that the idea evolved from this *synthesis* shall be the identity of both. By reason we know that God is: but God is himself the Supreme Reason. And this is the proper difference between all spiritual faculties and the bodily senses;—the organs of spiritual apprehension having objects consubstantial with themselves (*ὁμοούσια*), or being themselves their own objects, that is, self-contemplative.

organ ; even as the arithmetician uses numbers, that is, as the means not the end of knowledge. Our Shakspeare in agreement both with truth and the philosophy of his age names it "discourse of reason," as an instrumental faculty belonging to reason : and Milton opposes the discursive to the intuitive, as the lower to the higher,

Differing but in degree, in kind the same.

Reason may or rather must be used in two different yet correlative senses, which are nevertheless in some measure reunited by a third. In its highest sense, and which is the ground and source of the rest, reason is being, the Supreme Being contemplated objectively, and in abstraction from the personality. The Word or Logos is life, and communicates life ; is light and communicates light. Now this light contemplated *in abstracto* is reason. Again as constituents of reason we necessarily contemplate unity and distinctity. Now the latter as the polar opposite to the former implies plurality : therefore I use the plural, distinctities, and say, that the distinctities considered apart from the unity are the ideas, and reason is the ground and source of ideas. This is the first and absolute sense.

The second sense comes when we speak of ourselves as possessing reason ; and this we can no otherwise define than as the capability with which God had endowed man of beholding, or being conscious of, the divine light. But this very capability is itself that light, not as the divine light, but as the life or indwelling of the living Word, which is our light ; that is, a life whereby we are capable of the light, and by which the light is present to us, as a being which we may call ours, but which I cannot call mine : for it is the life that we individualize, while the light, as its correlative opposite, remains universal.

Most pregnant is the doctrine of opposite correlatives as applied to Deity, but only as manifested in man, not to the Godhead absolutely. 1827.

Of the discursive understanding, which forms for itself general notions and terms of classification for the purpose of comparing and arranging *phænomena*, the characteristic is clearness without depth. It contemplates the unity of things in their limits only, and is consequently a knowledge of superficies without substance. So much so indeed, that it entangles itself in contradictions in the very effort of comprehending the idea of substance. The completing power which unites clearness with depth, the plenitude of the sense with the comprehensibility of the understanding, is the imagination, impregnated with which the understanding itself becomes intuitive, and a living power. The reason, (not the abstract reason, not the reason as the mere organ of science, or as the faculty of scientific principles and schemes *a priori*; but reason) as the integral spirit of the regenerated man, reason substantiated and vital, *one only, yet manifold, overseeing all, and going through all* understanding; *the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence from the glory of the Almighty; which remaining in itself regenerateth all other powers, and in all ages entering into holy souls maketh them friends of God and prophets*; (Wisdom of Solomon, c. vii.) this reason without being either the sense, the understanding or the imagination, contains all three within itself, even as the mind contains its thoughts, and is present in and through them all; or as the expression pervades the different features of an intelligent countenance. Each individual must bear witness of it to his own mind, even as he describes life and light: and with the silence of light it describes itself, and dwells in us only as far as we dwell in it. It cannot in strict language be called a faculty, much less a personal property, of any human mind. He, with whom it is present, can as little appropriate it, whether, totally or by partition, as he can claim ownership in the breathing air or make an inclosure in the cope of heaven.

The object of the preceding discourse was to recommend the Bible, as the end and centre of our reading and meditation. I can truly affirm of myself, that my studies have been profitable and availing to me only so far as I have endeavoured to use all my other knowledge as a glass enabling me to receive more light in a wider field of vision from the word of God. If you have accompanied me thus far, thoughtful reader, let it not weary you if I digress for a few moments to another book, likewise a revelation of God—the great book of his servant Nature. That in its obvious sense and literal interpretation it declares the being and attributes of the Almighty Father, none but the fool in heart has ever dared gainsay. But it has been the music of gentle and pious minds in all ages, it is the poetry of all human nature, to read it likewise in a figurative sense, and to find therein correspondencies and symbols of the spiritual world.

I have at this moment before me, in the flowery meadow, on which my eye is now reposing, one of its most soothing chapters, in which there is no lamenting word, no one character of guilt or anguish. For never can I look and meditate on the vegetable creation without a feeling similar to that with which we gaze at a beautiful infant that has fed itself asleep at its mother's bosom, and smiles in its strange dream of obscure yet happy sensations. The same tender and genial pleasure takes possession of me, and this pleasure is checked and drawn inward by the like aching melancholy, by the same whispered remonstrance, and made restless by a similar impulse of aspiration. It seems as if the soul said to herself: From this state hast thou fallen! Such shouldst thou still become, thy self all permeable to a holier power! thy self at once hidden and glorified by its own transparency, as the accidental and dividuous in this quiet and harmonious object is subjected to the life and light of nature; to that life and light of nature, I say, which shines in every plant

and flower, even as the transmitted power, love and wisdom of God over all fills, and shines through, nature! But what the plant is by an act not its own and unconsciously—that must thou make thyself to become—must by prayer and by a watchful and unresisting spirit, join at least with the preventive and assisting grace to make thyself, in that light of conscience which inflameth not, and with that knowledge which puffeth not up!

But further, and with particular reference to that undivided reason, neither merely speculative or merely practical, but both in one, which I have in this annotation endeavoured to contra-distinguish from the understanding, I seem to myself to behold in the quiet objects, on which I am gazing, more than an arbitrary illustration, more than a mere *simile*, the work of my own fancy. I feel an awe, as if there were before my eyes the same power as that of the reason—the same power in a lower dignity, and therefore a symbol established in the truth of things. I feel it alike, whether I contemplate a single tree or flower, or meditate on vegetation throughout the world, as one of the great organs of the life of nature. Lo!*—with the rising sun it commences its outward life and enters into open communion with all the elements, at once assimilating them to itself and to each other. At the same moment it strikes its roots and unfolds its leaves, absorbs and respire, steams forth its cooling vapour and finer

* The remainder of this paragraph might properly form the conclusion of a disquisition on the spirit, as suggested by meditative observation of natural objects, and of our own thoughts and impulses without reference to any theological dogma, or any religious obligation to receive it as a revealed truth, but traced to the law of the dependence of the particular on the universal, the first being the organ of the second, as the lungs in relation to the atmosphere, the eye to light, crystal to fluid, figure to space, and the like. 1822.

fragrance, and breathes a repairing spirit, at once the food and tone of the atmosphere, into the atmosphere that feeds it. Lo!—at the touch of light how it returns an air akin to light, and yet with the same pulse effectuates its own secret growth, still contracting to fix what expanding it had refined. Lo!—how upholding the ceaseless plastic motion of the parts in the profoundest rest of the whole it becomes the visible *organismus* of the entire silent or elementary life of nature and, therefore, in incorporating the one extreme becomes the symbol of the other; the natural symbol of that higher life of reason, in which the whole series (known to us in our present state of being) is perfected, in which, therefore, all the subordinate gradations recur, and are re-ordained *in more abundant honor*. We had seen each in its own cast, and we now recognize them all as co-existing in the unity of a higher form, the crown and completion of the earthly, and the mediator of a new and heavenly series.* Thus finally,

* It may be shown that the *plus* or universal, which man as the *minus* or individual finds his correlative pole, can only be God. I. This may be proved, exhaustively, that all lower universals are already attached to lower particulars. II. It may be proved by the necessity of harmonic correspondence. The principle of personal individuality being the transcendent—(that is, the highest *species* of *genus* X, in which X rises, *moritur, at dum moritur resurgit*, into the higher *genus* Y,)—the personal principle, I say, being the transcendent of all particulars, requires for its correspondent opposite the transcendent of all universals: and this is God. The doctrine of the spirit thus generally conceived, and without being matured into any more distinct conceptions by revealed Scripture, is the ground of theopathy, religious feeling, or devoutness: while the reason,—as contra-distinguished from the understanding by logical processes, without reference to revelation or to reason *sensu eminenti*, as the self-subsistent Reason or *Logos*, and merely

the vegetable creation, in the simplicity and uniformity of its internal structure symbolizing the unity of nature, while it represents the omniformity of her delegated functions in its external variety and manifoldness, becomes the record and chronicle of her ministerial acts, and inches the vast unfolded volume of the earth with the hieroglyphics of her history.

O!—if as the plant to the orient beam, we would but open out our minds to that holier light, which ‘*being compared with light is found before it, more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of stars,*’ (Wisdom of Solomon, vii. 29.)—ungenial, alien, and adverse to our very nature would appear the boastful wisdom which, beginning in France, gradually tampered with the taste and literature of all the most civilized nations of Christendom, seducing the understanding from its natural allegiance, and therewith from all its own lawful claims, titles, and privileges. It was placed as a ward of honour in the

considered as the endowment of the human will and mind, having two definitions accordingly as it is exercised practically or intellectually,—is the ground of theology, or religious belief. Both are good in themselves as far as they go, and productive—the former—of a sensibility to the beautiful in art and nature, of imaginativeness and moral enthusiasm;—the latter—of insight, comprehension, and a philosophic mind. They are good in themselves, and the preconditions of the better; and therefore these disquisitions would form an appropriate conclusion to *The Aids to Reflection*. For as many as are wanting either in leisure or inclination, or belief of their own competency to go further—from the miscellaneous to the systematic—that volume is a whole, and for them the whole work. While for others these disquisitions form the drawbridge, the connecting link, between the disciplinary and preparatory rules and exercises of reflection, and the system of faith and philosophy of S. T. C. 1827.

courts of faith and reason; but it chose to dwell alone, and became a harlot by the way-side. The commercial spirit, and the ascendancy of the experimental philosophy which took place at the close of the seventeenth century, though both good and beneficial in their own kinds, combined to foster its corruption. Flattered and dazzled by the real or supposed discoveries which it had made, the more the understanding was enriched, the more did it become debased; till science itself put on a selfish and sensual character, and immediate utility, in exclusive reference to the gratification of the wants and appetites of the animal, the vanities and caprices of the social, and the ambition of the political, man was imposed as the test of all intellectual powers and pursuits. Worth was degraded into a lazy synonyme of value; and value was exclusively attached to the interest of the senses. But though the growing alienation and self-sufficiency of the understanding was perceptible at an earlier period, yet it seems to have been about the middle of the last century, under the influence of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, say generally of the so-called Encyclopedists, and alas!—of their crowned proselytes and disciples, Frederick, Joseph, and Catherine,—that the human understanding, and this too in its narrowest form, was tempted to throw off all show of reverence to the spiritual and even to the moral powers and impulses of the soul; and usurping the name of reason openly joined the banners of Anti-christ, at once the pander and the prostitute of sensuality, and whether in the cabinet, laboratory, the dissecting room, or the brothel, alike busy in the schemes of vice and irreligion. Well and truly might it, thus personified in our fancy, have been addressed in the words of the evangelical Prophet, which I have once before quoted. *Thou hast said, None seeth me. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee—and thou hast said in thy heart, I am, and there is none beside me.* (Isaiah, xlvii. 10.)

Prurient, bustling, and revolutionary, this French wisdom has never more than grazed the surfaces of knowledge. As political economy, in its zeal for the increase of food it habitually overlooked the qualities and even the sensations of those that were to feed on it. As ethical philosophy, it recognized no duties which it could not reduce into debtor and creditor accounts on the ledgers of self-love, where no coin was sterling which could not be rendered into agreeable sensations. And even in its height of self-complacency as chemical art, greatly am I deceived if it has not from the very beginning mistaken the products of destruction, *cadavera rerum*, for the elements of composition: and most assuredly it has dearly purchased a few brilliant inventions at the loss of all communion with life and the spirit of nature. As the process, such the result;—a heartless frivolity alternating with a sentimentality as heartless; an ignorant contempt of antiquity; a neglect of moral self-discipline; a deadening of the religious sense, even in the less reflecting forms of natural piety; a scornful reprobation of all consolations and secret refreshings from above,—and as the *caput mortuum* of human nature evaporated, a French nature of rapacity, levity, ferocity, and presumption.

Man of understanding, canst thou command the stone to lie, canst thou bid the flower bloom, where thou hast placed it in thy classification?—Canst thou persuade the living or the inanimate to stand separate even as thou hast separated them?—And do not far rather all things spread out before thee in glad confusion and heedless intermixture, even as a lightsome chaos on which the Spirit of God is moving?—Do not all press and swell under one attraction, and live together in promiscuous harmony, each joyous in its own kind, and in the immediate neighbourhood of myriad others that in the system of thy understanding are distant as the poles?—If to mint and to remember names delight thee, still arrange and classify

and pore and pull to pieces, and peep into death to look for life, as monkies put their hands behind a looking-glass! Yet consider in the first sabbath which thou imposest on the busy discursion of thought, that all this is at best little more than a technical memory: that like can only be known by like: that as truth is the correlative of being, so is the act of being the great organ of truth: that in natural no less than in moral science, *quantum sumus, scimus*.

That which we find in ourselves is (*gradu mutato*) the substance and the life of all our knowledge. Without this latent presence of the 'I am,' all modes of existence in the external world would flit before us as colored shadows, with no greater depth, root, or fixure, than the image of a rock hath in a gliding stream or the rainbow on a fast-sailing rain-storm. The human mind is the compass, in which the laws and actuations of all outward essences are revealed as the dips and declinations. (The application of geometry to the forces and movements of the material world is both proof and instance.) The fact, therefore, that the mind of man in its own primary and constituent forms represents the laws of nature, is a mystery which of itself should suffice to make us religious: for it is a problem of which God is the only solution, God, the one before all, and of all, and through all!—True natural philosophy is comprized in the study of the science and language of symbols. The power delegated to nature is all in every part: and by a symbol I mean, not a metaphor or allegory or any other figure of speech or form of fancy, but an actual and essential part of that, the whole of which it represents. Thus our Lord speaks symbolically when he says that *the eye is the light of the body*. The genuine naturalist is dramatic poet in his own line: and such as our myriad-minded Shakspeare is, compared with the Racines and Metastasios, such and by a similar process of self-transformation would the man be, com-

pared with the doctors of the mechanic school, who should construct his physiology on the heaven-descended, Know Thyself.

Even *the visions of the night* speak to us of powers within us that are not dreamt of in their day-dream of philosophy. The dreams, which we most often remember, are produced by the nascent sensations and inward *motiunculæ* (the fluxions) of the waking state. Hence, too they are more capable of being remembered, because passing more gradually into our waking thoughts they are more likely to associate with our first perceptions after sleep. Accordingly, when the nervous system is approaching to the waking state, a sort of under-consciousness blends with our dreams, that in all we imagine as seen or heard our own self is the ventriloquist, and moves the slides in the magic-lantern. We dream about things.

But there are few persons of tender feelings and reflecting habits, who have not, more or less often in the course of their lives, experienced dreams of a very different kind, and during the profoundest sleep that is compatible with after-recollection,—states, of which it would scarcely be too bold to say that we dream the things themselves; so exact, minute, and vivid beyond all power of ordinary memory is the portraiture, so marvellously perfect is our brief *metempsychosis* into the very being, as it were, of the person who seems to address us. The dullest wight is at times a Shakspeare in his dreams. Not only may we expect that men of strong religious feelings, but little religious knowledge, will occasionally be tempted to regard such occurrences as supernatural visitations; but it ought not to surprise us, if such dreams should sometimes be confirmed by the event, as though they had actually possessed a character of divination. For who shall decide, how far a perfect reminiscence of past experiences, (of many perhaps that had escaped our reflex consciousness

at the time)—who shall determine, to what extent this reproductive imagination, unsophisticated by the will, and undistracted by intrusions from the senses, may or may not be centered and sublimed into foresight and presentiment?—There would be nothing herein either to foster superstition on the one hand, or to justify contemptuous disbelief on the other. Incredulity is but credulity seen from behind, bowing and nodding assent to the habitual and the fashionable.

To the touch (or feeling) belongs the proximate; to the eye the distant. Now little as I might be disposed to believe, I should be still less inclined to ridicule, the conjecture that in the recesses of our nature, and undeveloped, there might exist an inner sense, (and therefore appertaining wholly to time,)—a sense hitherto without a name, which as a higher third combined and potentially included both the former. Thus gravitation combines and includes the powers of attraction and repulsion, which are the constituents of matter, as distinguished from body. And thus, not as a compound, but as a higher third, it realizes matter (of itself *ens fluxionale et præfluum*) and constitutes it body. Now suppose that this nameless inner sense stood to the relations of time as the power of gravitation to those of space? *A priori*, a presence to the future is not more mysterious or transcendent than a presence to the distant, than a power equally immediate to the most remote objects, as it is to the central mass of its own body, toward which it seems, as it were, enchanting them: for instance, the gravity in the sun and moon to the spring tides of our ocean. The true reply to such an *hypothesis* would be, that as there is nothing to be said against its possibility, there is, likewise, nothing to be urged for its reality; and that the facts may be rationally explained without it.

It has been asked why knowing myself to be the object of personal slander, (slander as unprovoked as it is ground-

less, unless acts of kindness are provocation) I furnish this material for it by pleading in palliation of so chimerical a fancy. With that half-playful sadness, which at once sighs and smiles, I answered: why not for that very reason?—namely, in order that my calumniator might have, if not a material, yet some basis for the poison-gas of his invention to combine with?—But no,—pure falsehood is often for the time the most effective; for how can a man confute what he can only contradict?—Our opinions and principles cannot prove an *alibi*. Think only what your feelings would be if you heard a wretch deliberately perjure himself in support of an infamous accusation, so remote from all fact, so smooth and homogeneous in its untruth, such a round Robin of mere lies, that you knew not which to begin with?—What could you do, but look round with horror and astonishment, pleading silently to human nature itself,—and perhaps (as hath really been the case with me) forget both the slanderer and his slander in the anguish inflicted by the passiveness of your many professed friends, whose characters you had ever been as eager to clear from the least stain of reproach as if a coal of fire had been on your own skin?—But enough of this which would not have occurred to me at all, at this time, had it not been thus suggested.

The feeling, which in point of fact chiefly influenced me in the preceding half apology for the supposition of a divining power in the human mind, arose out of the conviction that an age or nation may become free from certain prejudices, beliefs, and superstitious practices in two ways. It may have really risen above them; or it may have fallen below them, and become too bad for their continuance. The rustic would have little reason to thank the philosopher who should give him true conceptions of ghosts, omens, dreams, and presentiments at the price of abandoning his faith in Providence and in the continued existence of his fellow-creatures after their death.

The teeth of the old serpent sowed by the Cadmuses of French literature under Lewis XV. produced a plenteous crop of such philosophers and truth-trumpeters in the reign of his ill-fated successor. They taught many facts, historical, political, physiological, and ecclesiastical, diffusing their notions so widely that the very ladies and hair-dressers of Paris became fluent encyclopedists; and the sole price, which their scholars paid for these treasures of new light, was to believe Christianity an imposture, the Scriptures a forgery, the worship of God superstition, hell a fable, heaven a dream, our life without providence, and our death without hope. What can be conceived more natural than the result, that self-acknowledged beasts should first act, and next suffer themselves to be treated, as beasts?

Thank heaven!—notwithstanding the attempts of Thomas Payne and his compeers, it is not so bad with us. Open infidelity has ceased to be a means even of gratifying vanity: for the leaders of the gang themselves turned apostates to Satan, as soon as the number of their proselytes became so large that atheism ceased to give distinction. Nay, it became a mark of original thinking to defend the Creed and the Ten Commandments: so the strong minds veered round, and religion came again into fashion. But still I exceedingly doubt, whether the superannuation of sundry superstitious fancies be the result of any real diffusion of sound thinking in the nation at large. For instance, there is now no call for a Picus Mirandula to write seven books against astrology. It might seem, indeed, that a single fact like that of the loss of Kempenfeldt and his crew, or the explosion of the ship *L'Orient*, would prove to the common sense of the most ignorant, that even if astrology could be true, the astrologers must be false: for if such a science were possible it could be a science only for gods. Yet Erasmus, the prince of sound common sense, is known to have disap-

proved of his friend's hardihood, and did not himself venture beyond scepticism: and the immortal Newton, to whom more than to any other human being Europe owes the purification of its general notions concerning the heavenly bodies, studied astrology with much earnestness and did not reject it till he had demonstrated the falsehood of all its pretended grounds and principles. The exit of two or three superstitions is no more a proof of the entry of good sense, than the strangling of a despot at Algiers or Constantinople is a symptom of freedom. If therefore not the mere disbelief, but the grounds of such disbelief must decide the question of our superior illumination, I confess that I could not from my own observations on the books and conversation of the age vote for the affirmative without much hesitation. As many errors are despised by men from ignorance as from knowledge. Whether that be not the case with regard to divination, is a query that rises in my mind (notwithstanding my fullest conviction of the non-existence of such a power) as often as I read the names of the great statesmen and philosophers, which Cicero enumerates in the introductory paragraphs of his work *de Divinatione*.—*Socrates, omnesque Socratici, * * * plurimisque locis gravis auctor Democritus, * * * Cratippusque, familiaris noster, quem ego parem summis Peripateticis judico, * * * præensionem rerum futurarum comprobarunt.** Of all the theistic philosophers, Xenophanes was the only one who wholly rejected it. *A Stoicis degeneravit Panætius, nec tamen ausus est negare vim esse divinandi, sed dubitare se dixit.†* Nor was this a mere outward assent to the opinions of the State. Many of them subjected the question to the most exquisite arguments, and supported the affirmative not merely by experience, but (especially the Stoics, who of all the sects most cultivated psychology) by a minute analysis of human nature

* L. I. s. 2. Ed.

† Ib. Ed.

and its faculties: while on the mind of Cicero himself (as on that of Plato with regard to a state of retribution after death) the universality of the faith in all times and countries appears to have made the deepest impression. *Gentem quidem nullam video, neque tam humanam atque doctam, neque tam immanem tamque barbaram, quæ non significari futura, et a quibusdam intelligi prædicique posse censeat.**

I fear that the decrease in our feelings of reverence towards mankind at large, and our increasing aversion to every opinion not grounded in some appeal to the senses, have a larger share in this our emancipation from the prejudices of Socrates and Cicero, than reflection, insight, or a fair collation of the facts and arguments. For myself, I would much rather see the English people at large believe somewhat too much than merely just enough, if the latter is to be produced, or must be accompanied, by a contempt or neglect of the faith and intellect of their forefathers. For not to say, what yet is most certain, that a people cannot believe just enough, and that there are errors which no wise man will treat with rudeness, while there is a probability that they may be the refraction of some great truth as yet below the horizon; it remains most worthy of our serious consideration, whether a fancied superiority to their ancestors' intellects must not be speedily followed in the popular mind by disrespect for their ancestors' institutions. Assuredly it is not easy to place any confidence in a form of Church or State, of the founders of which we have been taught to believe that their philosophy was jargon, and their feelings and notions rank superstition. Yet are we never to grow wiser?—Are we to be credulous by birth-right, and take ghosts, omens, visions, and witchcraft, as an heir-loom?—God forbid. A distinction must be made, and such a one as shall be equally availing and profitable to men of all ranks. Is this practicable?—

* L. I. s. 1. Ed.

Yes!—it exists. It is found in the study of the Old and New Testament, if only it be combined with a spiritual partaking of the Redeemer's Blood, of which, mysterious as the symbol may be, the sacramental Wine is no mere or arbitrary *memento*. This is the only certain, and this is the universal, preventive of all debasing superstitions; this is the true Hæmony, (*αἷμα*, blood, *οἶνος*, wine) which our Milton has beautifully allegorized in a passage strangely overlooked by all his commentators. Bear in mind, reader! the character of a militant Christian, and the results (in this life and in the next) of the Redemption by the Blood of Christ; and so peruse the passage:—

Amongst the rest a small unsightly root,
 But of divine effect, he culled me out:
 The leaf was darkish, and had prickles on it,
 But in another country, as he said,
 Bore a bright golden flower, but not in this soil!
 Unknown and like esteem'd, and the dull swain
 Treads on it daily with his clouted shoon;
 And yet more med'cinal is it than that Moly
 That Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave.
 He called it Hæmony and gave it me,
 And bade me keep it as of sovran use
 'Gainst all enchantments, mildew, blast, or damp,
 Or ghastly furies' apparition. COMUS.

These lines might be employed as an amulet against delusions: for the man, who is indeed a Christian, will as little think of informing himself concerning the future by dreams or presentiments, as of looking for a distant object at broad noon-day with a lighted taper in his hand.

But whatever of good and intellectual our nature worketh in us, it is our appointed task to render gradually our own work. For all things that surround us, and all things that happen unto us, have (each doubtless its own providential purpose, but) all one common final cause: namely,

the increase of consciousness in such wise that whatever part of the *terra incognita* of our nature the increased consciousness discovers, our will may conquer and bring into subjection to itself under the sovereignty of reason.

The leading differences between mechanic and vital philosophy may all be drawn from one point: namely, that the former demanding for every mode and act of existence real or possible visibility, knows only of distance and nearness, composition (or rather juxta-position) and decomposition, in short the relations of unproductive particles to each other; so that in every instance the result is the exact sum of the component quantities, as in arithmetical addition. This is the philosophy of death, and only of a dead nature can it hold good. In life, much more in spirit, and in a living and spiritual philosophy, the two component counter-powers actually interpenetrate each other, and generate a higher third, including both the former, *ita tamen ut sit alia et major*.

To apply this to the subject of this present comment. The elements (the factors, as it were) of religion are reason and understanding. If the composition stopped in itself, an understanding thus rationalized would lead to the admission of the general doctrines of natural religion, the belief of a God, and of immortality; and probably to an acquiescence in the history and ethics of the Gospel. But still it would be a speculative faith, and in the nature of a theory; as if the main object of religion were to solve difficulties for the satisfaction of the intellect. Now this state of mind, which alas! is the state of too many among our self-entitled rational religionists, is a mere balance or compromise of the two powers, not that living and generative interpenetration of both which would give being to essential religion,—to the religion at the birth of which *we receive the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father; the Spirit itself bearing witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.* (Rom. viii. 15, 16.)

In religion there is no abstraction. To the unity and infinity of the Divine Nature, of which it is the partaker, it adds the fullness, and to the fullness, the grace and the creative overflowing. That which intuitively it at once beholds and adores, praying always, and rejoicing always—that doth it tend to become. In all things and in each thing—for the Almighty Goodness doth not create generalities or abide in abstractions—in each, the meanest, object it bears witness to a mystery of infinite solution. Thus *beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, it is changed into the same image from glory to glory.* (2 Cor. iii. 18.) For as it is born and not made, so must it grow. As it is the image or symbol of its great object, by the organ of this similitude, as by an eye, it seeth that same image throughout the creation; and from the same cause sympathizeth with all creation in its groans to be redeemed. *For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in earnest expectation* (Rom. viii. 20—23) of a renewal of its forfeited power, the power, namely, of retiring into that image, which is its substantial form and true life, from the vanity of self, which then only is when for itself it hath ceased to be. Even so doth religion finitely express the unity of the infinite Spirit by being a total act of the soul. And even so doth it represent his fullness by its depth, by its substantiality, and by an all-pervading vital warmth which—relaxing the rigid, consolidating the dissolute, and giving cohesion to that which is about to sink down and fall abroad, as into the dust and crumble of the grave—is a life within life, evermore organizing the soul anew.

Nor doth it express the fullness only of the Spirit. It likewise represents his overflowing by its communicativeness, budding and blossoming forth in all earnestness of persuasion, and in all words of sound doctrine: while, like the citron in a genial soil and climate, it bears a golden fruitage of good-works at the same time, the ex-

ample waxing in contact with the exhortation, as the ripe orange beside the opening orange-flower. Yea, even his creativeness doth it shadow out by its own powers of impregnation and production, (*being such a one as Paul the aged, and also a prisoner for Jesus Christ, who begat to a lively hope his son Onesimus in his bonds*) regenerating in and through the Spirit the slaves of corruption, and fugitives from a far greater and harder master than Philemon. The love of God, and therefore God himself who is love, religion strives to express by love, and measures its growth by the increase and activity of its love. For Christian love is the last and divinest birth, the harmony, unity, and god-like transfiguration of all the vital, intellectual, moral, and spiritual powers. Now it manifests itself as the sparkling and ebullient spring of well-doing in gifts and in labors; and now as a silent fountain of patience and long-suffering, the fulness of which no hatred or persecution can exhaust or diminish; a more than conqueror in the persuasion, *that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate it from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus the Lord.* (Rom. viii. 38, 39.)

From God's love through his Son, crucified for us from the beginning of the world, religion begins: and in love towards God and the creatures of God it hath its end and completion. O, how heaven-like it is to sit among brethren at the feet of a minister who speaks under the influence of love and is heard under the same influence! For all abiding and spiritual knowledge, infused into a grateful and affectionate fellow Christian, is as the child of the mind that infuses it. The delight which he gives he receives; and in that bright and liberal hour the gladdened preacher can scarce gather the ripe produce of to-day without discovering and looking forward to the green fruits and embryos, the heritage and reversionary wealth

of the days to come; till he bursts forth in prayer and thanksgiving—*The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers few. O gracious Lord of the harvest, send forth labourers into thy harvest! There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek. Thou, Lord over all, art rich to all that call upon thee. But how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent? And O! how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth glad tidings of good things, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto the captive soul, Thy God reigneth! God manifested in the flesh hath redeemed thee! O Lord of the harvest, send forth labourers into thy harvest.*

Join with me, reader! in the fervent prayer that we may seek within us what we can never find elsewhere, that we may find within us what no words can put there, that one only true religion, which elevateth knowing into being, which is at once the science of being, and the being and the life of all genuine science.

(C.)

Not without great hesitation should I express a suspicion concerning the genuineness of any the least important passage in the New Testament, unless I could adduce the most conclusive evidence from the earliest manuscripts and commentators, in support of its interpolation: well knowing that such permission has already opened a door to the most fearful license. It is indeed, in its consequences, no less than an assumed right of picking and chusing our religion out of the Scriptures. Most assuredly I would never hazard a suggestion of this kind in any instance in which the retention or the omission of the words could make the slightest difference with regard

to fact, miracle, or precept. Still less would I start the question, where the *hypothesis* of their interpolation could be wrested to the discountenancing of any article of doctrine concerning which dissension existed: no, not though the doubt or disbelief of the doctrine had been confined to those, whose faith few but themselves would honor with the name of Christianity; however reluctant we might be, both from the courtesies of social life and the nobler charities of humility, to withhold from the persons themselves the title of Christians.

But as there is nothing in Matthew xii. 40. which would fall within this general rule, I dare permit myself to propose the query, whether there does not exist internal evidence of its being a gloss of some unlearned, though pious, Christian of the first century, which has slipt into the text? The following are my reasons. 1. It is at all events a comment on the words of our Saviour, and no part of his speech. 2. It interrupts the course and breaks down the application of our Lord's argument, as addressed to men who from their unwillingness to sacrifice their vain traditions, gainful hypocrisy, and pride both of heart and of demeanor, demanded a miracle for the confirmation of moral truths that must have borne witness to their own divinity in the consciences of all who had not rendered themselves conscience-proof. 3. The text strictly taken is irreconcilable with the fact as it is afterwards related, and as it is universally accepted. I at least remember no calculation of time, according to which the interspace from Friday evening to the earliest dawn of Sunday morning, could be represented as three days and three nights. As three days our Saviour himself speaks of it (John ii. 19) and so it would be described in common language as well as according to the use of the Jews; but I can find no other part of Scripture which authorizes the phrase of three nights. This gloss is not found either in the repetition of the circumstance by Matthew himself (xvi. 4.)

nor in Mark, (viii. 12.) nor in Luke, (xii. 54.) Mark's narration doth indeed most strikingly confirm my second reason, drawn from the purpose of our Saviour's argument: for the allusion to the prophet Jonas is omitted altogether, and the refusal therefore rests on the depravity of the applicants, as proved by the wantonness of the application itself. All signs must have been useless to such men as long as the great sign of the times, the call to repentance, remained without effect. 4. The gloss corresponds with the known fondness of the earlier Jewish converts, and indeed of the Christians in general of the first century, to bring out in detail and into exact square every accommodation of the Old Testament, which they either found in the Gospels, or made for themselves. It is too notorious into what strange fancies, (not always at safe distance from dangerous errors) the oldest uninspired writers of Christian Church were seduced by this passion of transmuting without Scriptural authority incidents, names and even mere sounds of the Hebrew Scriptures, into Evangelical types and correspondencies.

An additional reason may perhaps occur to those who alone would be qualified to appreciate its force: namely, to Biblical scholars familiar with the opinions and arguments of sundry doctors, Rabbinical as well as Christian, respecting the first and second chapter of Jonah.

(D.)

In all ages of the Christian Church, and in the later period of the Jewish (that is, as soon as from their acquaintance first with the Oriental, and afterwards with the Greek, philosophy the precursory and preparative influences of the Gospel began to work) there have existed individuals (Laodiceans in spirit, minims in faith, and nominalists in philosophy) who mistake outlines for substance, and distinct images for clear conceptions; with whom therefore not to be a thing is the same as not to be

at all. The contempt in which such persons hold the works and doctrines of all theologians before Grotius, and of all philosophers before Locke and Hartley (at least before Bacon and Hobbes) is not accidental, nor yet altogether owing to that epidemic of a proud ignorance occasioned by a diffused sciolism, which gave a sickly and hectic shewiness to the latter half of the last century. It is a real instinct of self-defence acting offensively by anticipation. For the authority of all the greatest names of antiquity is full and decisive against them; and man, by the very nature of his birth and growth, is so much the creature of authority, that there is no way of effectually resisting it, but by undermining the reverence for the past *in toto*. Thus, the Jewish Prophets have, forsooth, a certain degree of antiquarian value, as being the only specimens extant of the oracles of a barbarous tribe; the Evangelists are to be interpreted with a due allowance for their superstitious prejudices concerning evil spirits, and St. Paul never suffers them to forget that he had been brought up at the feet of a Jewish Rabbi! The Greeks indeed were a fine people in works of taste; but as to their philosophers—the writings of Plato are smoke and flash from the witch's cauldron of a disturbed imagination:—Aristotle's works a quickset hedge of fruitless and thorny distinctions; and all the philosophers before Plato and Aristotle fblers and allegorizers!

But these men have had their day: and there are signs of the times clearly announcing that that day is verging to its close. Even now there are not a few, on whose convictions it will not be uninfluencive to know, that the power, by which men are led to the truth of things, instead of the appearances, was deemed and entitled the living and substantial Word of God by the soundest of the Hebrew Doctors; that the eldest and most profound of the Greek philosophers demanded assent to their doctrine, mainly as *σοφία θεοπαράδοτος*, that is, a tradi-

tionary wisdom that had its origin in inspiration; that these men referred the same power to the *πῦρ ἀείζων ὑπὸ διοικοῦντος Λόγου*; and that they were scarcely less express than their scholar Philo Judæus, in their affirmations of the Logos, as no mere attribute or quality, no mode of abstraction, no personification, but literally and mysteriously *Deus alter et idem*.

When education has disciplined the minds of our gentry for austerer study; when educated men shall be ashamed to look abroad for truths that can be only found within; within themselves they will discover, intuitively will they discover, the distinctions between *the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world*; and the understanding, which forms the *peculium* of each man, as different in extent and value from another man's understanding, as his estate may be from his neighbour's estate. The words of St. John, i. 7—12. are in their whole extent interpretable of the understanding, which derives its rank and mode of being in the human race (that is, as far as it may be contrasted with the instinct of the dog or elephant, in all, which constitutes it human understanding) from the universal light. This light therefore comes as to its own. Being rejected, it leaves the understanding to a world of dreams and darkness: for in it alone is life and the *life is the light of men*. What then but apparitions can remain to a philosophy, which strikes death through all things visible and invisible; satisfies itself then only when it can explain those abstractions of the outward senses, which by an unconscious irony it names indifferently facts and *phænomena*, mechanically—that is, by the laws of death; and brands with the name of mysticism every solution grounded in life, or the powers and intuitions of life?

On the other hand, if the light be received by faith, to such understandings it delegates the privilege (*ἐξουσίαν*) to become sons of God, expanding while it elevates, even

as the beams of the sun incorporate with the mist, and make its natural darkness and earthly nature the bearer and interpreter of their own glory. Ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐ μὴ συνῆτε.

The very same truth is found in a fragment of the Ephesian Heraclitus, preserved by Stobæus. *Ξὺν νόφ λέγοντας ἰσχυρίζεσθαι χρὴ τῷ ξυνῶ πάντων· τρέφονται γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώπινοι νόοι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τοῦ θείου (Λόγου) κρατεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὀκόσον ἐδέλει, καὶ ἔξαρκεῖ πᾶσι καὶ περιγίνεται.**—To discourse rationally (if we would render the discursive understanding discourse of reason) it behoves us to derive strength from that which is common to all men; (*the light that lighteth every man.*) For all human understandings are nourished by the one Divine Word, whose power is commensurate with his will, and is sufficient for all and overfloweth, (*shineth in darkness, and is not contained therein, or comprehended by the darkness.*)

This was Heraclitus, whose book is nearly six hundred years older than the Gospel of St. John, and who was proverbially entitled the Dark (ὁ σκοτεινός.) But it was a darkness which Socrates would not condemn,† and which would probably appear to enlightened Christians the darkness of prophecy, had the work, which he hid in the temple, been preserved to us. But obscurity is a word of many meanings. It may be in the subject; it may be in the author; or it may be in the reader;—and this again may originate in the state of the reader's heart; or in that of his capacity; or in his temper; or in his acci-

* Serm. III. Ed.

† Diogenes Laertius has preserved the characteristic criticism of Socrates. Φασὶ δ' Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ δόντα τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου σύγγραμμα, ἔρρεσθαι, Τί δοκεῖ; τὸν δὲ φάναι, Ἄ μὲν συνῆκα, γενναῖα· οἴμαι δὲ, καὶ ἄ μὴ συνῆκα· πλήν Δηλίου γέ τινος δεῖται κολυμβητοῦ. II. v. 7. Ed.

dental associations. Two kinds are especially pointed out by the divine Plato in his Sophistes. The beauty of the original is beyond my reach. On my anxiety to give the fulness of the thought, I must ground my excuse for construing rather than translating. The fidelity of the version may well atone for its harshness in a passage that deserves a meditation beyond the ministry of words, even the words of Plato himself, though in them, or no where, are to be heard the sweet sounds, that issued from the head of Memnon at the touch of light.—“One thing is the hardness to be understood of the sophist, another that of the philosopher. The former retreating into the obscurity of that which hath not true being, (τοῦ μὴ ὄντος) and by long intercourse accustomed to the same, is hard to be known on account of the duskiess of the place. But the philosopher by contemplation of pure reason evermore approximating to the idea of true being (τοῦ ὄντος) is by no means easy to be seen on account of the splendor of that region. For the intellectual eyes of the many flit, and are incapable of looking fixedly toward the God-like.”*

* The passage is :—

ΞΕ. Τὸν μὲν δὴ φιλόσοφον ἐν τοιούτῳ τινὶ τόπῳ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνευρήσομεν, ἐὰν ζητῶμεν, ἰδεῖν μὲν χαλεπὸν ἐναργῶς καὶ τοῦτον, ἕτερον μὲν τρόπον ἢ τε τοῦ σοφιστοῦ χαλεπότης ἢ τε τούτου.

ΘΕΑΙ. Πῶς;

ΞΕ. Ὅ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκων εἰς τὴν τοῦ μὴ ὄντος σκοτεινότητα, τριβῇ προσαπτόμενος αὐτῆς, διὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν τοῦ τόπου κατανοῆσαι χαλεπός. ἢ γάρ;

ΘΕΑΙ. Ἔοικεν.

ΞΕ. Ὅ δέ γε φιλόσοφος, τῇ τοῦ ὄντος αἰεὶ διὰ λογισμῶν πρόσκειμενος ἰδέα, διὰ τὸ λαμπρὸν αὐτῆς χώρας οὐδαμῶς εὐπετῆς ὀφθῆναι· τὰ γὰρ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ψυχῆς ὄμματα καρτερεῖν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀφορῶντα ἀδύνατα.

There are, I am aware, persons who willingly admit, that not in articles of faith alone, but in the heights of geometry, and even in the necessary first principles of natural philosophy, there exist truths of apodictic force in reason, which the mere understanding strives in vain to comprehend. Take, as an instance, the descending series of infinites in every finite, a position which involves a contradiction for the understanding, yet follows demonstrably from the very definition of body, as that which fills a space. For wherever there is a space filled, there must be an extension to be divided. When therefore maxims generalized from appearances (*phænomena*) are applied to substances; when rules, abstracted or deduced from forms in time and space, are used as measures of spiritual being, yea even of the Divine Nature which cannot be compared or classed; (*For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.* Isaiah lv. 8.)—such professors cannot but protest against the whole process, as grounded on a gross *metabasis εις ἄλλο γένος*. Yet still they are disposed to tolerate it as a sort of sanative counter-excitement, that holds in check the more dangerous disease of Methodism. But I more than doubt of both the positions. I do not think Methodism, Calvinistic or Wesleyan, the more dangerous disease; and even if it were, I should deny that it is at all likely to be counteracted by the rational Christianity of our modern Alogi (λόγος πίστεως ἄλογος!) who, mistaking unity for sameness, have been pleased by a misnomer not less contradictory to their own tenets than intolerant to those of Christians in general, to entitle themselves Unitarians. The two contagions attack each a wholly different class of minds and tempers, and each tends to produce and justify the other, accordingly as the predisposition of the patient may chance to be. If fanaticism be as a fire in the flooring of the Church, the idolism of the unspiritualized understanding is the dry

rot in its beams and timbers. "Ἰβριν χρὴ σβεννύειν μάλλον ἢ πυρκαϊήν, says Heraclitus.* It is not the sect of Unitarian Dissenters, but the spirit of Unitarianism in the members of the Church that alarms me. To what open revilings, and to what whispered slanders, I subject my name by this public avowal, I well know: ἀπίστους γὰρ τινὰς εἶναι ἐπιστύφων Ἡράκλειτός, φησιν, ἀκοῦσαι οὐκ ἐπισημένους οὐδ' εἰπεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ, κύνες ὡς, βαῦζουσιν ὃν ἂν μὴ γινώσκωσι.

(E.)

The accomplished author of the *Arcadia*, the star of serenest brilliance in the glorious constellation of Elizabeth's court, our England's Sir Philip Sidney, the paramount gentleman of Europe, the poet, warrior, and statesman, held high converse with Spenser on the idea of supersensual beauty; on all "earthly fair and amiable," as the symbol of that idea; and on music and poesy as its living educts. With the same genial reverence did the younger Algernon commune with Harrington and Milton on the idea of a perfect State; and in what sense it is true, that the men (that is, the aggregate of the inhabitants of a country at any one time) are made for the State, not the State for the men. But these lights shine no longer, or for a few. *Exeunt*: and enter in their stead Holofernes and Costard, masked as Metaphysics and Common-sense. And these too have their ideas. The former has an idea that Hume, Hartley, and Condillac have exploded all ideas, but those of sensation; he has an idea that he was particularly pleased with the fine idea of the last-named philosopher, that there is no absurdity in asking What color virtue is of? inasmuch as the proper philosophic answers would be black, blue, or bottle-green, according as the coat, waistcoat and small-clothes might

* Diog. Laert. ix. 1. *Ed.*

chance to be of the person, the series of whose motions had excited the sensations, which formed our idea of virtue. The latter has no idea of a better-flavored haunch of venison than he dined off at the Albion. He admits that the French have an excellent idea of cooking in general, but holds that their best cooks have no more idea of dressing a turtle than the gourmands themselves, at Paris, have any real idea of the true taste and color of the fat.

It is not impossible that a portion of the high value attached of late years to the dates and margins of our old folios and quartos may be transferred to their contents. Even now there exists a shrewd suspicion in the minds of reading men, that not only Plato and Aristotle, but even Scotus Erigena,* and the schoolmen from Peter Lombard† to Duns Scotus,‡ are not such mere blockheads, as they pass for with those who have never perused a line of their writings. What the results may be, should this ripen into conviction, I can but guess. But all history seems to favor the persuasion I entertain, that in every age the speculative philosophy in general acceptance, the metaphysical opinions that happen to be predominant, will influence the theology of that age. Whatever is proposed for the belief, as true, must have been previously admitted by reason as possible, as involving no contradiction to the universal forms or laws of thought, no incompatibility in the terms of the proposition; and the determination on this head belongs exclusively to the science of metaphysics. In each article of faith embraced on conviction, the mind determines, first intuitively on its logical possibility; secondly, discursively, on its analogy to doctrines already believed, as well as on its correspondence to the

* He died at Oxford in 886. *Ed.*

† He died Bishop of Paris in 1164. *Ed.*

‡ He died in 1308. *Ed.*

wants and faculties of our nature ; and thirdly, historically, on the direct and indirect evidences. But the probability of an event is a part of its historic evidence, and constitutes its presumptive proof, or the evidence *a priori*. Now as the degree of evidence *a posteriori*, requisite in order to a satisfactory proof of the actual occurrence of any fact stands, in an inverse ratio to the strength or weakness of the evidence *a priori* (that is, a fact probable in itself may be believed on slight testimony); it is manifest that of the three factors, by which the mind is determined to the admission or rejection of the point in question, the last, the historical, must be greatly influenced by the second, analogy, and that both depend on the first, logical congruity, not indeed as their cause or preconstituent, but as their indispensable condition ; so that the very inquiry concerning them is preposterous (σόφισμα τοῦ ὑσέρονου προτέρου) as long as the first remains undetermined. Again: the history of human opinions (ecclesiastical and philosophical history) confirms by manifold instances, what attentive consideration of the position itself might have authorized us to presume, namely, that on all such subjects as are out of the sphere of the senses, and therefore incapable of a direct proof from outward experience, the question whether any given position is logically impossible (incompatible with reason) or only incomprehensible (that is, not reducible to the forms of sense, namely, time and space, or those of the understanding, namely, quantity, quality, and relation) in other words, the question, whether an assertion be in itself inconceivable, or only by us unimaginable, will be decided by each individual according to the positions assumed as first principles in the metaphysical system which he has previously adopted. Thus the existence of a Supreme Reason, the creator of the material universe, involved a contradiction for a disciple of Epicurus, who had convinced himself that causative thought was tantamount to

something out of nothing or substance out of shadow, and incompatible with the axiom *Nihil ex nihilo*: While on the contrary to a Platonist this position, that thought or mind essentially, *vel sensu eminenti*, is causative, is necessarily pre-supposed in every other truth, as that without which every fact of experience would involve a contradiction in reason. Now it is not denied that the framers of our Church Liturgy, Homilies and Articles, entertained metaphysical opinions irreconcilable in their first principles with the system of speculative philosophy which has been taught in this country, and only not universally received, since the asserted and generally believed defeat of the Bishop of Worcester (the excellent Stillingfleet) in his famous controversy with Mr. Locke. Assuredly therefore it is well worth the consideration of our Clergy whether it is at all probable in itself, or congruous with experience, that the disputed Articles of our Church *de revelatis et credendis* should be adopted with singleness of heart, and in the light of knowledge, when the grounds and first philosophy, on which the framers themselves rested the antecedent credibility (may we not add even the revelability?) of the Articles in question, have been exchanged for principles the most dissimilar, if not contrary? It may be said and truly, that the Scriptures, and not metaphysical systems, are our best and ultimate authority. And doubtless, on Revelation must we rely for the truth of the doctrines. Yet what is considered incapable of being conceived as possible, will be deemed incapable of having been revealed as real: and that philosophy has hitherto had a negative voice, as to the interpretation of the Scriptures in high and doctrinal points, is proved by the course of argument adopted in the controversial volumes of all the orthodox divines from Origen to Bishop Bull, as well as by the very different sense attached to the same texts by the disciples of the modern *metaphysique*, wherever they have been at liberty to form their own creeds according to their own expositions.

I repeat the question then : is it likely, that the faith of our ancestors will be retained when their philosophy is rejected,—rejected *a priori*, as baseless notions not worth inquiring into, as obsolete errors which it would be slaying the slain to confute? Should the answer be in the negative, it would be no strained inference that the Clergy at least, as the conservators of the national faith, and the accredited representatives of learning in general amongst us, might with great advantage to their own peace of mind qualify themselves to judge for themselves concerning the comparative worth and solidity of the two schemes. Let them make the experiment, whether a patient rehearing of their predecessors' cause, with enough of predilection for the men to counterpoise the prejudices against their system, might not induce them to move for a new trial;—a result of no mean importance in my opinion, were it on this account alone, that it would recall certain ex-dignitaries in the book-republic from their long exile on the shelves of our public libraries to their old familiar station on the reading desks of our theological students. However strong the presumption were in favor of principles authorized by names that must needs be so dear and venerable to a minister of the Church in England, as those of Hooker, Whitaker, Field, Donne, Selden, Stillingfleet,—(masculine intellects, formed under the robust discipline of an age memorable for keenness of research, and iron industry)—yet no undue preponderance from any previous weight in this scale will be apprehended by minds capable of estimating the counter-weights, which it must first bring to a balance in the scale opposite. The obstinacy of opinions that have always been taken for granted, opinions unassailable even by the remembrance of a doubt, the silent accrescence of belief from the unwatched depositions of a general, never-contradicted, hearsay; the concurring suffrage of modern books, all pre-supposing or re-asserting the same principles with the

same confidence, and with the same contempt for all prior systems;—and among these, works of highest authority, appealed to in our Legislature, and lectured on at our Universities; the very books, perhaps, that called forth our own first efforts in thinking; the solutions and confutations in which must therefore have appeared tenfold more satisfactory from their having given us our first information of the difficulties to be solved, of the opinions to be confuted.—Verily, a clergyman's partiality towards the tenets of his forefathers must be intense beyond all precedent, if it can more than sustain itself against antagonists so strong in themselves, and with such mighty adjuncts.

Nor in this enumeration dare I (though fully aware of the obloquy to which I am exposing myself) omit the noticeable fact, that we have attached a portion even of our national glory (not only to the system itself, that system of disguised and decorous Epicureanism, which has been the only orthodox philosophy of the last hundred years; but also, and more emphatically) to the name of the assumed father of the system, who raised it to its present pride of place, and almost universal acceptance throughout Europe. And how was this effected? Extrinsicly, by all the causes, consequences, and accompaniments of the Revolution in 1688: by all the opinions, interests, and passions, which counteracted by the sturdy prejudices of the mal-contents with the Revolution; qualified by the compromising character of its chief conductors; not more propelled by the spirit of enterprise and hazard in our commercial towns, than kept in check by the characteristic *vis inertiae* of the peasantry and landholders; both parties cooled and lessoned by the equal failure of the destruction, and of the restoration, of monarchy;—it was effected extrinsicly, I say, by the same influences, which—(not in and of themselves, but with all these and sundry other modifications)—combined under

an especial control of Providence to perfect and secure the majestic temple of the British Constitution:—but the very same which in France, without this providential counterpoise, overthrew the motley fabric of feudal oppression to build up in its stead the madhouse of Jacobinism. Intrinsically, and as far as the philosophic scheme itself is alone concerned, it was effected by the mixed policy and *bonhomme*, with which the author contrived to retain in his celebrated work whatever the system possesses of soothing for the indolence, and of flattering for the vanity, of men's average understandings: while he kept out of sight all its darker features which outrage the instinctive faith and moral feelings of mankind, ingeniously threading-on the dried and shrivelled, yet still wholesome and nutritious, fruits plucked from the rich grafts of ancient wisdom, to the barren and worse than barren fig tree of the mechanic philosophy. Thus, the sensible Christians, *the angels of the church of Laodicea*, with the numerous and mighty sect of their admirers, delighted with the discovery that they could purchase the decencies and the creditableness of religion at so small an expenditure of faith, extolled the work for its pious conclusions: while the infidels, wiser in their generation than the children (at least than these nominal children) of light, eulogized it with no less zeal for the sake of its principles and assumptions, and with the foresight of those obvious and only legitimate conclusions, that might and would be deduced from them. Great at all times and almost incalculable are the influences of party spirit in exaggerating contemporary reputation; but never perhaps from the first syllable of recorded time were they exerted under such a concurrence and conjunction of fortunate accidents, of helping and furthering events and circumstances, as in the instance of Mr. Locke.

I am most fully persuaded, that the principles both of taste, morals, and religion taught in our most popular

compendia of moral and political philosophy, natural theology, evidences of Christianity, and the like, are false, injurious, and debasing. But I am likewise not less deeply convinced that all the well-meant attacks on the writings of modern infidels and heretics, in support either of the miracles or of the mysteries of the Christian religion, can be of no permanent utility, while the authors themselves join in the vulgar appeal to common sense as the one infallible judge in matters, which become subjects of philosophy only, because they involve a contradiction between this common sense and our moral instincts, and require therefore an arbiter, which containing both *eminenter* must be higher than either. We but mow down the rank misgrowth instead of cleansing the soil, as long as we ourselves protect and manure, as the pride of our garden, a tree of false knowledge, which looks fair and shewy and variegated with fruits not its own, that hang from the branches which have at various times been ingrafted on its stem; but from the roots of which underground the runners are sent off, that shoot up at a distance and bring forth the true and natural crop. I will speak plainly, though in so doing I must bid defiance to all the flatterers of the folly and foolish self-opinion of the half-instructed many. The articles of our Church, and the true principles of government and social order, will never be effectually and consistently maintained against their antagonists till the champions have themselves ceased to worship the same Baal with their enemies, till they have cast out the common idol from the recesses of their own convictions, and with it the whole service and ceremonial of idolism. While all parties agree in their abjuration of Plato and Aristotle, and in their contemptuous neglect of the Schoolmen and the scholastic logic, without which the excellent Selden (that genuine English mind whose erudition, broad, deep, and manifold as it was, is yet less remarkable than his robust healthful common sense) af-

firmly it impossible for a divine thoroughly to comprehend or reputedly to defend the whole undiminished and unadulterated scheme of Catholic faith, while all alike pre-assume, with Mr. Locke, that the mind contains only the reliques of the senses, and therefore proceed with him to explain the substance from the shadow, the voice from the echo,—they can but detect each the other's inconsistencies. The champion of orthodoxy will victoriously expose the bald and staring incongruity of the Socinian scheme with the language of Scripture, and with the final causes of all revealed religion :—the Socinian will retort on the orthodox the incongruity of a belief in mysteries with his own admissions concerning the origin, and nature of all tenable ideas, and as triumphantly expose the pretences of believing in a form of words, to which the believer himself admits that he can attach no consistent meaning. Lastly, the godless materialist, as the only consistent because the only consequent reasoner, will secretly laugh at both. If these sentiments should be just, the consequences are so important that every well-educated man, who has given proofs that he has at least patiently studied the subject, deserves a patient hearing. Had I not the authority of the greatest and noblest intellects for at least two thousand years on my side, yet from the vital interest of the opinions themselves, and their natural, unconstrained, and (as it were) spontaneous coalescence with the faith of the Catholic Church, (they being, moreover, the opinions of its most eminent Fathers) I might appeal to all orthodox Christians, whether they adhere to the faith only or both to the faith and forms of the Church, in the words of my motto: *Ad isthæc quæso vos, qualiucunque primo videantur aspectu attendite, ut qui vobis forsans insanire videar, saltem quibus insaniam rationibus cognoscatis.*

There are still a few, however, young men of loftiest minds, and the very stuff out of which the sword and

shield of truth and honour are to be made, who will not withdraw all confidence from the writer, although

'Tis true, that passionate for ancient truths
And honoring with religious love the great
Of elder times, he hated to excess,
With an unquiet and intolerant scorn,
The hollow puppets of a hollow age
Ever idolatrous, and changing ever
Its worthless idols !*

a few there are, who will still less be indisposed to follow him in his milder mood, whenever their Friend,

Piercing the long-neglected holy cave,
The haunt obscure of Old Philosophy,
Shall bid with lifted torch its starry walls
Sparkle, as erst they sparkled to the flame
Of odorous lamps tended by saint and sage †

I have hinted, above, at the necessity of a glossary, and I will conclude these supplementary remarks with a nomenclature of the principal terms which occur in the elements of speculative philosophy, in their old and rightful sense, according to my belief; at all events the sense in which I have myself employed them. The most general term (*genus summum*) belonging to the speculative intellect, as distinguished from acts of the will, is Representation, or (still better) Presentation.

A conscious Presentation, if it refers exclusively to the subject, as a modification of his own state of being, is = Sensation.

The same if it refers to an Object, is = Perception.

A Perception, immediate and individual is = an Intuition.

* Poet. Works, I. p. 200. Ed. † Ib. Ed.

The same, mediate, and by means of a character or mark common to several things, is = a Conception.

A Conception, extrinsic and sensuous, is = a Fact, or a Cognition.

The same, purely mental and abstracted from the forms of the understanding itself = a Notion.

A notion may be realized, and becomes cognition; but that which is neither a sensation or a perception, that which is neither individual (that is, a sensible intuition) nor general (that is, a conception) which neither refers to outward facts, nor yet is abstracted from the forms of perception contained in the understanding; but which is an educt of the imagination actuated by the pure reason, to which there neither is nor can be an adequate correspondent in the world of the senses;—this and this alone is = an Idea. Whether ideas are regulative only, according to Aristotle and Kant; or likewise constitutive, and one with the power and life of nature, according to Plato, and Plotinus (*ἐν λόγῳ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*) is the highest problem of philosophy, and not part of its nomenclature.*

* See Table Talk, p. 95, 2d edit. *Ed.*

A LAY SERMON,

ADDRESSED TO THE HIGHER AND MIDDLE CLASSES,

ON THE EXISTING DISTRESSES AND

DISCONTENTS. 1817.

BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

Second Edition:

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND NOTES,

BY

HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE, ESQ. M.A.

'Εάν μὴ ἐλπίζητε, ἀνέλπιστον οὐκ εὐρήσετε, ἀνεξερεύ-
νητον ὄν καὶ ἄπορον. HERACLITUS.

If ye do not hope, ye will not find : for in despairing ye
block up the mine at its mouth, ye extinguish the torch,
even when ye are already in the shaft.

God and the world we worship still together,
Draw not our laws to Him, but His to ours ;
Untrue to both, so prosperous in neither,
The imperfect will brings forth but barren flowers !
Unwise as all distracted interests be,
Strangers to God, fools in humanity :
Too good for great things and too great for good,
While still “ *I dare not* ” waits upon “ *I would.* ”

INTRODUCTION.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN ! You I mean, who fill the higher and middle stations of society ! The comforts, perchance the splendors, that surround you, designate your rank, but cannot constitute your moral and personal fitness for it. Be it enough for others to know that you are its legal,—but by what mark shall you stand accredited to your own consciences, as its worthy,—possessors ? Not by common sense or common honesty ; for these are equally demanded of all classes, and therefore mere negative qualifications in your rank of life, or characteristic only by the aggravated ignominy consequent on their absence. Not by genius or splendid talent ; for these, as being gifts of nature, are objects of moral interest for those alone, to whom they have been allotted. Nor yet by eminence in learning ; for this supposes such a devotion of time and thought, as would in many cases be incompatible with the claims of active life. Erudition is, doubtless, an ornament that especially beseems a high station : but it is professional rank only that renders its attainment a duty.

The mark in question must be so far common, that we may be entitled to look for it in you from the mere circumstance of your situation, and so far

distinctive, that it must be such as cannot be expected generally from the inferior classes. Now either there is no such criterion in existence, or the *desideratum* is to be found in an habitual consciousness of the ultimate principles, in reference to which you think and act. The least that can be demanded of the least favored among you is an earnest endeavour to walk in the light of your own knowledge; and not, as the mass of mankind, by laying hold on the skirts of custom. Blind followers of a blind and capricious guide, forced likewise (though oftener, I fear, by their own improvidence,* than by the lowness of their estate) to

* A truth, that should not however be said, save in the spirit of charity, and with the palliating reflection, that this very improvidence has hitherto been, though not the inevitable, yet the natural result of poverty and the Poor Laws. With what gratitude I venerate my country and its laws, my humble publications from the *Fears in Solitude*, printed in 1798, (*Poet. Works*, I. p. 132.) to the present discourse bear witness.—Yet the Poor Laws and the Revenue!—if I permitted myself to dwell on these exclusively, I should be tempted to fancy that the domestic seals were put in commission and entrusted to Argus, Briareus, and Cacus, as lords of the commonalty. Alas! it is easy to see the evil; but to imagine a remedy is difficult in exact proportion to the experience and good sense of the seeker. That excellent man, Mr. Perceval, whom I regard as the best and wisest statesman this country has possessed since the Revolution—(I judge only from his measures and the reports of his speeches in Parliament, for I never saw him)—went into the Ministry, with the design as well as the wish of abolishing lotteries. I was present at a table, when this intention was announced by a venerable relative of the departed statesman,

consume life in the means of living, the multitude may make the sad confession

Tempora mutantur ; nos et mutamur in illis,

unabashed. But to Englishmen in the enjoyment of a present competency, much more to such as are defended against the anxious future, it must needs be a grievous dishonor (and not the less grievous, though perhaps less striking, from its frequency) to change with the times, and thus to debase their

who loved and honored the man, but widely dissented from him as a politician. Except myself, all present were partizans of the Opposition ; but all avowed their determination on this score alone, as a great moral precedent, to support the new minister. What was the result ? Two lotteries in the first year instead of one ! The door of the cabinet has a quality the most opposite to the ivory gate of Virgil. It suffers no dreams to pass through it. Alas ! as far as any wide scheme of benevolence is concerned, the inscription over it might seem to be the Dantean

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate !

We judge harshly because we expect irrationally. But on the other hand, this disproportion of the power to the wish will, sooner or later, end in that tame acquiescence in things as they are, which is the sad symptom of a moral *necrosis* commencing. And commence it will, if its causes are not counteracted by the philosophy of history, that is, by history read in the spirit of prophecy ;—if they are not overcome by the faith which, still re-kindling hope, still re-enlivens charity. Without the knowledge of man, the knowledge of men is a hazardous acquisition. What insight might not our statesmen acquire from the study of the Bible merely as history, if only they had been previously accustomed to study history in the same spirit, as that in which good men read the Bible !

motives and maxims, the sacred household of conscience, into slaves and creatures of fashion. *Thou therefore art inexcusable, O man!* (Rom. ii. 1) if thou dost not give to thyself *a reason for the faith that is in thee*: if thou dost not thereby learn the safety and the blessedness of that other Apostolic precept, *Whatsoever ye do, do it in faith*. Your habits of reflection should at least be equal to your opportunities of leisure, and to that which is itself a species of leisure,—your immunity from bodily labour, from the voice and lash of the imperious ever-recurring this day. Your attention to the objects that stretch away below you in the living landscape of good and evil, and your researches into their existing or practicable bearings on each other, should be proportional to the elevation that extends and diversifies your prospect. If you possess more than is necessary for your own wants, more than your own wants ought to be felt by you as your own interests. You are pacing on a smooth terrace, which you owe to the happy institutions of your country,—a terrace on the mountain's breast. To what purpose, by what moral right, if you continue to gaze only on the sod beneath your feet? Or if converting means into ends and with all your thoughts and efforts absorbed in selfish schemes of climbing cloudward, you turn your back on the wide landscape, and stoop the lower, the higher you ascend.

The remedial and prospective advantages that may be rationally anticipated from the habit of

contemplating particulars in their universal laws ; its tendency at once to fix and to liberalize the morality of private life, at once to produce and enlighten the spirit of public zeal ; and let me add, its especial utility in recalling the origin and primary purport of the term, generosity,* to the heart and thoughts of a populace tampered with by sophists and incendiaries of the revolutionary school ; these advantages I have felt it my duty and have made it my main object to press on your serious attention during the whole period of my literary labors from earliest manhood to the present hour. Whatever may have been the specific theme of my communications, and whether they related to criticism, politics, or religion, still principles, their subordination, their connection, and their application, in all the divisions of our tastes, duties, rules of conduct and schemes of belief, have constituted my chapter of contents.

It is an unsafe partition which divides opinions without principle from unprincipled opinions : and if the latter are not followed by correspondent actions, we are indebted for the escape, not to the agent himself, but to his habits of education, to the sympathies of superior rank, to the necessity of character, often, perhaps, to the absence of

* *A genere*: the qualities either supposed natural and instinctive to men of noble race, or such as their rank is calculated to inspire, as disinterestedness, devotion to the service of their friends and clients, frankness, and the like.

temptation from providential circumstances or the accident of a gracious nature. These, indeed, are truths of all times and places; but I seemed to see especial reason for insisting on them in our own times. A long and attentive observation had convinced me that formerly men were worse than their principles, but that at present the principles are worse than the men.

Few are sufficiently aware how much reason most of us have, even as common moral livers, to thank God for being Englishmen. It would furnish grounds both for humility towards Providence and for increased attachment to our country, if each individual could but see and feel how large a part of his innocence he owes to his birth, breeding, and residence in Great Britain. The administration of the laws; the almost continual preaching of moral prudence; the pressure of our ranks on each other, with the consequent reserve and watchfulness of demeanor in the superior ranks, and the emulation in the subordinate; the vast depth, expansion and systematic movements of our trade; and the consequent interdependence, the arterial or nerverlike network of property, which make every deviation from outward integrity a calculable loss to the offending individual himself from its mere effects, as obstruction and irregularity; and lastly, the naturalness of doing as others do:—these and the like influences, peculiar, some in the kind and all in the degree, to this privileged island, are the buttresses, on which our foundation-

less well-doing is upholden even as a house of cards, the architecture of our infancy, in which each is supported by all.

Well then may we pray, *Give us peace in our time, O Lord!* Well for us if no revolution, or other general visitation, betray the true state of our national morality! But above all, well will it be for us if even now we dare disclose the secret to our own souls! Well will it be for as many of us as have duly reflected on the Prophet's assurance, *that we must take root downwards, if we would bear fruit upwards*; if we would bear fruit, and continue to bear fruit, when the foodful plants that stand straight, only because they grow in company, or whose slender surface-roots owe their whole stedfastness to their intertangement, have been beaten down by the continued rains, or whirled aloft by the sudden hurricane. Nor have we far to seek for what ever it is most important that we should find. The wisdom from above has not ceased for us. *The principles of the oracles of God* (Heb. v. 12.) are still uttered from before the altar;—oracles, which we may consult without cost;—before an altar where no sacrifice is required, but of the vices which unman us; no victims demanded, but the unclean and animal passions, which we may have suffered to house within us, forgetful of our Baptismal dedication,—no victim, but the spiritual sloth, or goat, or fox, or hog, which lay waste the vineyard that the Lord had fenced and planted for himself.

I have endeavored in my previous discourse to persuade the more highly gifted and educated part of my friends and fellow-Christians, that as the New Testament sets forth the means and conditions of spiritual convalescence, with all the laws of conscience relative to our future state and permanent being ; so does the Bible present to us the elements of public prudence, instructing us in the true causes, the surest preventives, and the only cures, of public evils. The authorities of Raleigh, Clarendon, and Milton must at least exempt me from the blame of singularity, if undeterred by the contradictory charges of paradoxy from one party and of adherence to vulgar and old-fashioned prejudices from the other, I persist in avowing my conviction, that the inspired poets, historians and sententiaries of the Jews, are the clearest teachers of political economy : in short, that their writings* are the

* To which I should be tempted with Burke to annex that treasure of prudential wisdom, the Ecclesiasticus. I not only yield, however, to the authority of our Church, but reverence the judgment of its founders in separating this work from the list of the canonical books, and in refusing to apply it to the establishment of any doctrine, while they caused it to be "read for example of life and instruction of manners." Excellent, nay, invaluable as this book is in the place assigned to it by our Church, that place is justified on the clearest grounds. For not to say that the compiler himself candidly cautions us against the imperfections of his translation, and its no small difference from the original Hebrew, as it was written by his grandfather, he so expresses himself in his prologue as to exclude all claims to inspiration or divine authority in any other or higher sense

statesman's best manual, not only as containing the first principles and ultimate grounds of State-policy whether in prosperous times or in those of danger and distress, but as supplying likewise the

than every writer is entitled to make, who having qualified himself by the careful study of the books of other men had been drawn on to write something himself. But of still greater weight practically, are the objections derived from certain passages of the book, which savour too plainly of the fancies and prejudices of a Jew of Jerusalem ; for example, c. l. 25-26, and of greater still the objections drawn from other passages, as from c. xli. which by implication and obvious inference are nearly tantamount to a denial of a future state, and bear too great a resemblance to the ethics of the Greek poets and orators in the substitution of posthumous fame for a true resurrection and a consequent personal endurance ; the substitution in short, of a nominal for a real immortality. Lastly the prudential spirit of the maxims in general in which prudence is taught too much on its own grounds instead of being recommended as the organ or vehicle of a spiritual principle in its existing worldly relations. In short, prudence ceases to be wisdom when it is not to the filial fear of God, and to the sense of the excellence of the divine laws, what the body is to the soul. Now in the work of the son of Sirach, prudence is both body and soul.

It were perhaps to be wished, that this work, and the Wisdom of Solomon had alone received the honor of being accompaniments to the inspired writings, and that these should, with a short precautionary preface and a few notes have been printed in all our Bibles. The remaining books might without any loss have been left for the learned or for as many as were prompted by curiosity to purchase them, in a separate volume. Even of the Maccabees not above a third part can be said to possess any historic value, as authentic accounts.

details of their application, and as being a full and spacious repository of precedents and facts in proof.

Well therefore (again and again I repeat to you,) well will it be for us if we have provided ourselves from this armory while *yet the day of trouble and of treading down and of perplexity* appears at far distance and only *in the valley of vision*: if we have humbled ourselves and have confessed our thin and unsound state, even while *from the uttermost parts of the earth we were hearing songs of praise and glory to the upright nation.* (Is. xxii. 5. xxiv. 16.)

But if indeed *the day of treading down* is present, it is still in our power to convert it into a time of substantial discipline for ourselves, and of enduring benefit to the present generation and to posterity. The splendour of our exploits, during the late war, is less honourable to us than the magnanimity of our views, and our generous confidence in the victory of the better cause. Accordingly, we have obtained a good name, so that the nations around us have displayed a disposition to follow our example and imitate our institutions; too often I fear even in parts where from the difference of our relative circumstances the imitation had little chance of proving more than mimicry. But it will be far more glorious, and to our neighbours incomparably more instructive, if in distresses to which all countries are liable we bestir ourselves in remedial and preventive arrange-

ments which all nations may more or less adopt ; inasmuch as they are grounded on principles intelligible to all rational, and obligatory on all moral, beings ; inasmuch as, having been taught by God's word, exemplified by God's providence, commanded by God's law, and recommended by promises of God's grace, they alone can form the foundations of a Christian community. Do we love our country ? These are the principles by which the true friend of the people is contradistinguished from the factious demagogue. They are at once the rock and the quarry. On these alone and with these alone is the solid welfare of a people to be built. Do we love our own souls ? These are the principles, the neglect of which writes hypocrite and suicide on the brow of the professing Christian. For these are the keystone of that arch on which alone we can cross the torrent of life and death with safety on the passage ; with peace in the retrospect ; and with hope shining upon us from through the cloud toward which we are travelling. Not, my Christian friends ! by all the lamps of worldly wisdom clustered in one blaze can we guide our paths so securely as by fixing our eyes on this inevitable cloud, through which all must pass, which at every step becomes darker and more threatening to the children of this world, but to the children of faith and obedience still thins away as they approach, to melt at length and dissolve into that glorious light, from which as so many gleams and reflections of the same falling on us

during our mortal pilgrimage, we derive all principles of true and lively knowledge, alike in science and in morals, alike in communities and in individuals.

It has been my purpose throughout the following discourse to guard myself and my readers from extremes of all kinds: I will therefore conclude this Introduction by enforcing the maxim in its relation to our religious opinions, out of which, with or without our consciousness, all our other opinions flow as from their spring-head and perpetual feeder. And that I might neglect no innocent mode of attracting or relieving the reader's attention, I have moulded my reflections into the following

ALLEGORIC VISION.

A feeling of sadness, a peculiar melancholy, is wont to take possession of me alike in spring and in autumn. But in spring it is the melancholy of hope: in autumn it is the melancholy of resignation. As I was journeying on foot through the Appennine, I fell in with a pilgrim in whom the spring and the autumn and the melancholy of both seemed to have combined. In his discourse there were the freshness and the colors of April:

*Qual ramicel a ramo,
Tal da pensier pensiero
In lui germogliava.*

But as I gazed on his whole form and figure, I

bethought me of the not unlovely decays, both of age and of the late season in the stately elm, after the clusters have been plucked from its entwining vines, and the vines are as bands of dried withies around its trunk and branches. Even so there was a memory on his smooth and ample forehead, which blended with the dedication of his steady eyes, that still looked—I know not, whether upward, or far onward, or rather to the line of meeting where the sky rests upon the distance. But how may I express that dimness of abstraction which lay like the flitting tarnish from the breath of a sigh on a silver mirror, and which accorded with the lustre of the pilgrim's eyes, with their slow and reluctant movement, whenever he turned them to any object on the right hand or on the left? It seemed, methought, as if there lay upon the brightness a shadowy presence of disappointments now unfelt, but never forgotten. It was at once the melancholy of hope and of resignation.

We had not long been fellow-travellers, ere a sudden tempest of wind and rain forced us to seek protection in the vaulted door-way of a lone chapelry: and we sate face to face each on the stone bench along-side the low, weather-stained wall, and as close as possible to the massy door.

After a pause of silence: "Even thus," said he, "like two strangers that have fled to the same shelter from the same storm, not seldom do despair and hope meet for the first time in the porch

of death!" "All extremes meet," I answered; "but yours was a strange and visionary thought." "The better then doth it beseem both the place and me," he replied. "From a visionary wilt thou hear a vision? Mark that vivid flash through this torrent of rain. Fire and water. Even here thy adage holds true, and its truth is the moral of my vision." I entreated him to proceed. Sloping his face toward the arch and yet averting his eye from it, he seemed to seek and prepare his words: till listening to the wind that echoed within the hollow edifice, and to the rain without,

Which stole on his thoughts with its two-fold sound,
The clash hard by and the murmur all round,

he gradually sank away, alike from me and from his own purpose, and amid the gloom of the storm and in the duskiness of that place he sate an emblem on a rich man's sepulchre, or like a mourner on the sodded grave of an only one, an aged mourner, who is watching the waned moon and sorroweth not. Starting at length from his brief trance of abstraction, with courtesy and an atoning smile he renewed his discourse, and commenced his parable.

During one of those short furlows from the service of the body, which the soul may sometimes obtain even in this its militant state, I found myself in a vast plain, which I immediately knew to be the Valley of Life. It possessed an astonishing diversity of soils: here was a sunny spot, and there a dark one, forming just such a mixture of sun-

shine and shade, as we may have observed on the mountains' side on an April day, when the thin broken clouds are scattered over heaven. Almost in the very entrance of the valley stood a large and gloomy pile, into which I seemed constrained to enter. Every part of the building was crowded with tawdry ornaments and fantastic deformity. On every window was portrayed, in glaring and inelegant colors, some horrible tale or preternatural incident, so that not a ray of light could enter, untinged by the *medium* through which it passed. The body of the building was full of people, some of them dancing in and out in unintelligible figures, with strange ceremonies and antic merriment, while others seemed convulsed with horror, or pining in mad melancholy. Intermingled with these, I observed a number of men, clothed in ceremonial robes, who appeared now to marshal the various groups and to direct their movements; and now with menacing countenances, to drag some reluctant victim to a vast idol, framed of iron bars intercrossed, which formed at the same time an immense cage, and the shape of a human Colossus.

I stood for a while lost in wonder, what these things might mean; when lo! one of the directors came up to me, and with a stern and reproachful look bade me uncover my head; for that the place, into which I had entered, was the temple of the only true religion, in the holier recesses of which the great Goddess personally resided. Himself

too he bade me reverence, as the consecrated minister of her rites. Awe-struck by the name of religion, I bowed before the priest, and humbly and earnestly entreated him to conduct me into her presence. He assented. Offerings he took from me, with mystic sprinklings of water and with salt he purified, and with strange sufflations he exorcised, me ; and then led me through many a dark and winding alley, the dew-damps of which chilled my flesh, and the hollow echoes under my feet, mingled, methought, with moanings, affrighted me. At length we entered a large hall without window, or spiracle, or lamp. The asylum and dormitory it seemed of perennial night ; only that the walls were brought to the eye by a number of self-luminous inscriptions in letters of a pale sepulchral light, which held strange neutrality with the darkness, on the verge of which it kept its rayless vigil. I could read them, methought ; but though each one of the words taken separately I seemed to understand, yet when I took them in sentences, they were riddles and incomprehensible. As I stood meditating on these hard sayings, my guide thus addressed me,—Read and believe : these are mysteries !—At the extremity of the vast hall the Goddess was placed. Her features, blended with darkness, rose out to my view, terrible, yet vacant. I prostrated myself before her, and then retired with my guide, soul-withered, and wondering, and dissatisfied.

As I re-entered the body of the temple, I heard

a deep buzz as of discontent. A few whose eyes were bright, and either piercing or steady, and whose ample foreheads, with the weighty bar, ridge-like, above the eyebrows, bespoke observation followed by meditative thought; and a much larger number who were enraged by the severity and insolence of the priests in exacting their offerings, had collected in one tumultuous group, and with a confused outcry of "This is the temple of Superstition!" after much contumely, and turmoil, and cruel maltreatment on all sides, rushed out of the pile: and I, methought, joined them.

We speeded from the temple with hasty steps, and had now nearly gone round half the valley, when we were addressed by a woman, tall beyond the stature of mortals, and with a something more than human in her countenance and mien, which yet by mortals could be only felt, not conveyed by words or intelligibly distinguished. Deep reflection, animated by ardent feelings, was displayed in them: and hope, without its uncertainty, and a something more than all these, which I understood not; but which yet seemed to blend all these into a divine unity of expression. Her garments were white and matronly, and of the simplest texture. We inquired her name. My name, she replied, is Religion.

The more numerous part of our company, affrighted by the very sound, and sore from recent impostures or sorceries, hurried onwards and examined no farther. A few of us, struck by the

manifest opposition of her form and manner to those of the living idol, whom we had so recently abjured, agreed to follow her, though with cautious circumspection. She led us to an eminence in the midst of the valley, from the top of which we could command the whole plain, and observe the relation of the different parts, of each to the other, and of each to the whole, and of all to each. She then gave us an optic glass which assisted without contradicting our natural vision, and enabled us to see far beyond the limits of the Valley of Life: though our eye even thus assisted permitted us only to behold a light and a glory, but what we could not descry, save only that it was, and that it was most glorious.

And now with the rapid transition of a dream, I had overtaken and rejoined the more numerous party, who had abruptly left us, indignant at the very name of religion. They journeyed on, goading each other with remembrances of past oppressions, and never looking back, till in the eagerness to recede from the temple of Superstition they had rounded the whole circle of the valley. And lo! there faced us the mouth of a vast cavern, at the base of a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, the interior side of which, unknown to them, and unsuspected, formed the extreme and backward wall of the temple. An impatient crowd, we entered the vast and dusky cave, which was the only perforation of the precipice. At the mouth of the cave sate two figures; the first, by her dress and

gestures, I knew to be Sensuality; the second form, from the fierceness of his demeanour and the brutal scornfulness of his looks, declared himself to be the monster Blasphemy. He uttered big words, and yet ever and anon I observed that he turned pale at his own courage. We entered. Some remained in the opening of the cave, with the one or the other of its guardians. The rest, and I among them, pressed on till we reached an ample chamber, which seemed the centre of the rock. The climate of the place was unnaturally cold.

In the furthest distance of the chamber sate an old dim-eyed man, poring with a microscope over the *torso* of a statue, which had neither base, nor feet, nor head; but on its breast was carved, Nature. To this he continually applied his glass, and seemed enraptured with the various inequalities which it rendered visible on the seemingly polished surface of the marble. Yet evermore was this delight and triumph followed by expressions of hatred, and vehement railing against a being, who yet, he assured us, had no existence. This mystery suddenly recalled to me what I had read in the holiest recess of the temple of Superstition. The old man spoke in divers tongues, and continued to utter other and most strange mysteries. Among the rest he talked much and vehemently concerning an infinite series of causes and effects, which he explained to be—a string of blind men, the last of whom caught hold of the skirt of the

one before him, he of the next, and so on till they were all out of sight; and that they all walked infallibly straight, without making one false step, though all were alike blind. Methought I borrowed courage from surprise, and asked him,—“Who then is at the head to guide them?” He looked at me with ineffable contempt, not un-mixed with an angry suspicion, and then replied, “No one;—the string of blind men goes on for ever without any beginning: for although one blind man cannot move without stumbling, yet infinite blindness supplies the want of sight.” I burst into laughter, which instantly turned to terror;—for as he started forward in rage, I caught a glance of him from behind; and lo! I beheld a monster bi-form and Janus-headed, in the hinder face and shape of which I instantly recognized the dread countenance of Superstition—and in the terror I awoke.

A LAY SERMON,

ETC.

Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters.

ISAIAH xxxii. 20.

ON all occasions the beginning should look toward the end ; and most of all when we offer counsel concerning circumstances of great distress, and of still greater alarm. But such is my business at present, and the common duty of all whose competence justifies the attempt. And therefore, my Christian friends and fellow Englishmen, have I *in a day of trouble and of treading down and of perplexity*, taken my beginning from this assurance of an inspired messenger to *the devisers of liberal things*, (xxxiii. 8.) who confident in hope are fearless in charity. For to enforce the precept involved in this gladsome annunciation of the Evangelical herald, to awaken the lively feeling which it breathes, and to justify the line of conduct which it encourages, are the end to which my present efforts are directed—the ultimate object of the present address, to which all the other points, therein discussed, are but introductory and preparative. *Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters.* It is the assurance of a Prophet, and therefore surety itself to all who profess

to receive him as such. It is a command in the form of a promise, which at once instructs us in our duty and forecloses every possible objection to its performance. It is at once our guide and our pioneer—a breeze from Heaven, which at one and the same time determines our path, impels us along it, and removes beforehand each overhanging cloud that might have conspired with our own dimness to bewilder or to dishearten us. Whatever our own despondence may whisper, or the reputed masters of political economy may have seemed to demonstrate, neither by the fears and scruples of the one, or by the confident affirmations of the other, let us be deterred. They must both be false if the Prophet is true. We will still in the power of that faith which can *hope even against hope* continue to sow beside all waters: for there is a blessing attached to it by God himself, to whose eye all consequences are present, on whose will all consequences depend.

But I had also an additional motive for the selection of this verse. Easy to be remembered from its briefness, likely to be remembered from its beauty, and with not a single word in it which the malignant ingenuity of faction could pervert to the excitement of any dark or turbulent feeling, I chose it both as the text and title of this discourse, that it might be brought under the eye of many thousands who will know no more of the discourse itself than what they read in the advertisements of it in our public papers.

In point of fact it was another passage of Scripture, the words of another Prophet, that originally occasioned this address by one of those accidental circumstances, which so often determine the current of our thoughts. From a company among whom the distresses of the times and the disappointments of the public expectations had been agitated with more warmth than wisdom, I had retired to solitude and silent meditation. A Bible chanced to lie open on the table, my eyes were cast idly on the page for a few seconds, till gradually as a mist clears away, the following words became visible, and at once fixed my attention. *We looked for peace, but no good came; for a time of health, and behold, trouble.*—I turned to the beginning of the chapter: it was the eighth of the Prophet Jeremiah, and having read it to the end, I repeated aloud the verses which had become connected in my memory by their pertinency to the conversation, to which I had been so lately attending: namely, the 11th, 15th, 20th, and 22nd.

They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, Peace, when there is no peace. We looked for peace, but no good came: for a time of health, and behold, trouble! The harvest is past, the summer is ended: and we are not saved. Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?

These impassioned remonstrances, these heart-

probing interrogatories, of the lamenting Prophet do indeed anticipate a full and alas! a too faithful statement of the case, to the public consideration of which we have all of late been so often and so urgently invited, and the inward thought of which our very countenances betray as by a communion of alarm. In the bold painting of Scripture language, *all faces gather blackness*,—the many at the supposed magnitude of the national embarrassment, the wise at the more certain and far more alarming evil of its moral accompaniments. Peace has come without the advantages expected from peace, and on the contrary, with many of the severest inconveniences usually attributed to war. *We looked for peace, but no good came; for a time of health, and behold, trouble! The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.* The inference therefore contained in the preceding verse is unavoidable. Where war has produced no repentance, and the cessation of war has brought neither concord nor tranquillity, we may safely cry aloud with the prophet: *They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying Peace, Peace, when there is no peace:* and proceed to answer the three questions in the answers to which the Prophet instructs us to seek the solution of the problem. First, who are they who have hitherto prescribed for the case, and are still tampering with it? What are their qualifications? What has been their conduct? Second, what is the true seat and source of the complaint,—the ultimate

causes as well as the immediate occasions? And lastly, what are the appropriate medicines? Who and where are the true physicians?

First, who are those that have been ever loud and foremost in their pretensions to a knowledge both of the disease and the remedy? The answer to this question is continued in a preceding part of the chapter from which I extracted the text, where the Prophet Isaiah enumerates the conditions of a nation's recovery from a state of depression and peril. *The vile person, he tells us, must no more be called liberal, nor the churl be said to be bountiful. For the vile person will speak villainy, and his heart will work iniquity to practise hypocrisy and to utter error against the Lord; to make empty the soul of the needy, and he will cause the drink of the thirsty to fail. The instruments also of the churl are evil: he deviseth wicked devices to destroy the poor with lying words, even when the needy speaketh aright. But the liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand.* (xxxii. 5, 6, 7, 8.)

Such are the political empirics, mischievous in proportion to their effrontery and ignorant in proportion to their presumption, the detection and exposure of whose true characters the inspired statesman and patriot represents as indispensable to the re-establishment of the general welfare, while his own portrait of these impostors whom in a former chapter (ix. 15.) he calls, *the tail of the nation*, and in the following verse, *demagogues that cause*

the people to err, affords to the intelligent believer of all ages and countries the means of detecting them, and of undeceiving all whose own malignant passions have not rendered them blind and deaf and brutish. For these noisy and calumnious zealots, whom (with an especial reference indeed to the factious leaders of the populace who under this name exercised a tumultuary despotism in Jerusalem, at once a sign and a cause of its approaching downfall,) St. John beheld in the Apocalyptic vision* as a compound of locust and scorpion, are not of one place or of one season. They are the perennials of history: and though they may disappear for a time, they exist always in the egg and need only a distempered atmosphere and an accidental ferment to start up into life and activity.

It is worth our while, therefore, or rather it is

* My own conception of this canonical book is, that it narrates in the broad and inclusive form of the ancient Prophets (that is, in the prophetic power of faith and moral insight irradiated by inspiration) the successive struggles and final triumph of Christianity over the Paganism and Judaism of the then Roman Empire, typified in the fall of Rome, the destruction of the Old and the symbolical descent of the New Jerusalem. Nor do I think its interpretation even in detail attended with any insuperable difficulties.

It was once my intention to have translated the Apocalypse into verse, as a poem, holding a mid place between the epic narrative and the choral drama: and to have annexed a commentary in prose:—an intention long and fondly cherished, but during many years deferred from an unfeigned sense of my deficiency; and now there remains only the hope and the wish, or rather a feeling between both.

our duty to examine with a more attentive eye this representative portrait drawn for us by an infallible master, and to distinguish its component parts each by itself so that we may combine without confusing them in our memory; till they blend at length into one physiognomic expression, which whenever the counterpart is obtruded on our notice in the sphere of our own experience, may be at once recognized, and enable us to convince ourselves of the identity by a comparison of feature with feature.

The passage commences with a fact which to the inexperienced might well seem strange and improbable; but which being a truth nevertheless of our own knowledge, is the more striking and characteristic. Worthless persons of little or no estimation for rank, learning, or integrity, not seldom profligates, with whom debauchery has outwrestled rapacity, easy because unprincipled, and generous because dishonest, are suddenly cried up as men of enlarged views and liberal sentiments, our only genuine patriots and philanthropists: and churls, that is, men of sullen tempers and surly demeanor; men tyrannical in their families, oppressive and troublesome to their dependents and neighbours, and hard in their private dealings between man and man; men who clench with one hand what they have grasped with the other; these are extolled as public benefactors, the friends, guardians, and advocates of the poor! Here and there indeed we may notice an individual of birth and fortune,

(For great estates enlarge not narrow minds)

who has been duped into the ranks of incendiaries and mob-sycophants by an insane restlessness, and the wretched ambition of figuring as the Triton of the minnows. Or we may find, perhaps, a professional man of shewy accomplishments but of a vulgar taste, and shallow acquirements, who in part from vanity, and in part as means of introduction to practice, will seek notoriety by an eloquence well calculated to set the multitude agape, and excite *gratis* to over-acts of sedition or treason which he may afterwards be retained to defend. These however are but exceptions to the general rule. Such as the Prophet has described, such is the sort of men; and in point of historic fact it has been from men of this sort, *that profaneness is gone forth into all the land.* (Jeremiah, xxiii. 15.)

In harmony with the general character of these false prophets are the particular qualities assigned to them. First, a passion for vague and violent invective, an habitual and inveterate predilection for the language of hate, and rage, and contumely, an ungoverned appetite for abuse and defamation. *The vile will talk villainy.*

But the fetid flower will ripen into the poisonous berry, and the fruits of the hand follow the blossoms of the slanderous lips. *His heart will work iniquity.* That is, he will plan evil, and do his utmost to carry his plans into execution. The

guilt exists already; and there wants nothing but power and opportunity to condense it into crime and overt act. *He that hateth his brother is a murderer*, says St. John: and of many and various sorts are the brother-haters, in whom this truth may be exemplified. Most appropriately for our purpose, Isaiah has selected the fratricide of sedition, and with the eagle eye and practised touch of an intuitive demonstrator he unfolds the composition of the character, part by part, in the secret history of the agent's wishes, designs and attempts, of his ways, his means, and his ends. The agent himself, the incendiary and his kindling combustibles, had been already sketched by Solomon in the rapid yet faithful outline of a master in the art; *The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishness and the end of his talk mischievous madness.* (Eccles. x. 13.) If in the spirit of prophecy,* the wise ruler had been present to our own times, and their procedures; if

* Solomon has himself informed us that beyond wealth and conquest, and as of far greater importance to him, in his arduous office of king and magistrate, he had *sought through knowledge of wisdom to lay hold on folly*;—that is, by the study of man to arrive at a grounded knowledge of men, and through a previous insight into the nature and conditions of good to acquire by inference a thorough comprehension of the evil that arises from its deficiency or perversion. And truly in all points of prudence, public and private, we may accommodate to the royal Preacher his own words: (Eccles. ii. 12.) *What can the man say that cometh after the King? Even that which hath been said already.*

while he sojourned *in the valley of vision* he had actually heard the very harangues of our reigning demagogues to the convened populace; could he have more faithfully characterized either the speakers or the speeches? Whether in spoken or in printed addresses, whether in periodical journals or in yet cheaper implements of irritation, the ends are the same, the process is the same, and the same is their general line of conduct. On all occasions,—but most of all and with a more bustling malignity whenever any public distress inclines the lower classes to turbulence, and renders them more apt to be alienated from the government of their country;—in all places and at every opportunity pleading to the poor and ignorant,—no where and at no time are they found actually pleading for them. Nor is this the worst. They even plead against them. Yes!—sycophants to the crowd, enemies of the individuals, and well-wishers only to the continuance of their miseries, they plead against the poor and afflicted, under the weak and wicked pretence that we are to do nothing of what we can, because we cannot do all that we would wish. Or if this sophistry of sloth (*sophisma pigri*) should fail to check the bounty of the rich, there is still the sophistry of slander in reserve to chill the gratitude of the poor. If they cannot dissuade *the liberal from devising liberal things*, they will at least blacken the motives of his beneficence. If they cannot close the hand of the giver, they will at least embitter the gift in

the mouth of the receivers. Is it not as if they had said within their hearts :—“ The sacrifice of charity has been offered indeed in despite of us ; *but with bitter herbs shall it be eaten !* (Exod. xii. 8.) Imagined wrongs shall make it distasteful. We will infuse vindictive and discontented fancies into minds, already irritable and suspicious from distress : till the fever of the heart shall coat the tongue with gall and spread wormwood on the palate ?”

However angrily our demagogues may disclaim all intentions of this kind, such has been their procedure, and it is susceptible of no other interpretation. We all know that the shares must be scanty, where the thing to be divided bears no proportion to the number of the claimants. Yet He, who satisfied a multitude in the wilderness with a few loaves and fishes, is still present to his Church. Small as the portions are, if they are both given and taken in the spirit of his commands, a blessing will go with each ; and *the handful of meal shall not fail, until the day when the Lord bringeth back plenty on the land.* But no blessing can enter where envy and hatred are already in possession ; and small good will the poor man have of the food prepared for him by his more favored brother, if he have been previously taught to regard it as a mess of pottage given to defraud him of his birth-right.

If then to promise medicine and to administer poison ; if to flatter in order to deprave ; if to af-

fect love to all and shew pity to none ; if to exaggerate and misderive the distress of the labouring classes in order to make them turbulent, and to discourage every plan for their relief in order to keep them so ; if to skulk from private infamy in the mask of public spirit, and make the flaming patriot privilege the gamester, the swindler, or the adulterer ; if to seek amnesty for a continued violation of the laws of God by an equal pertinacity in outraging the laws of the land ; if these characterize the hypocrite, we need not look far back or far round for faces, wherein to recognize the third striking feature of this prophetic portrait. When therefore the verifying facts press upon us in real life ; when we hear persons, the tyranny of whose will is the only law in their families, denouncing all law as tyranny in public ;—persons, whose hatred of power in others is in exact proportion to their love of it for themselves ; when we behold men of sunk and irretrievable characters, to whom no man would entrust his wife, his sister, or his purse, having the effrontery to propose that we should entrust to them our religion and our country ; when we meet with patriots, who aim at an enlargement of the rights and liberties of the people by inflaming the populace to acts of madness that necessitate fetters ;—pretended heralds of freedom and actual pioneers of military despotism ; we will call to mind the words of the prophet Isaiah, and say to ourselves : *This is no new thing under the sun !* We have

heard it with our own ears, and it was declared to our fathers, and in the old time before them, that one of the main characteristics of demagogues in all ages is, *to practise hypocrisy*.

Such, I assert, has been the general line of conduct pursued by the political empirics of the day: and your own recent experience will attest the truth of the assertion. It was affirmed likewise at the same time, that as the conduct, such was the process: and I will seek no other support of this charge, I need no better test both of the men and their works, than the plain question: Is there one good feeling to which they do—is there a single bad passion to which they do not—appeal? If they are the enemies of liberty in general, inasmuch as they tend to make it appear incompatible with public quiet and personal safety, still more emphatically are they the enemies of the liberty of the press in particular; and therein of all the truths human and divine which a free press is the most efficient and only commensurate means of protecting, extending, and perpetuating. The strongest, indeed, the only plausible, arguments against the education of the lower classes are derived from the writings of these incendiaries; and if for our neglect of the light that hath been vouchsafed to us beyond measure, the land should be visited with a spiritual dearth, it will have been in no small degree occasioned by the erroneous and wicked principles which it is the trade of these men to propagate. Well therefore has the Prophet made

it the fourth mark of these misleaders of the multitude, not alone *to utter error*, but *to utter error against the Lord*, to make empty the soul of the hungry. Alas ! it is a hard and a mournful thing that the press should be constrained to call out for the harsh curb of the law against the press. For how shall the law predistinguish the ominous scritch owl from the sacred notes of augury, from the auspicious and friendly birds of warning ? And yet will we avoid this seeming injustice, we throw down all fence and bulwark of public decency and public opinion. Already has political calumny joined hands with private slander, and every principle, every feeling, that binds the citizen to his country, the spirit to its Creator, is in danger of being undermined. Not by reasoning, —for from that there is no danger ; but by the mere habit of hearing them reviled and scoffed at with impunity. Were we to contemplate the evils of a rank and unweeded press only in its effects on the manners of the people, and on the general tone of thought and conversation, the greater love we bore to literature, and to all the means and instruments of human improvement, the more anxiously should we wish for some Ithuriel spear that might remove from the ear of the ignorant and half-learned, and expose in their own fiendish shape, those reptiles, which inspiring venom and forging illusions as they list,

————— thence raise,

At least distemper'd discontented thoughts,
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires.

I feel, my friends! that even the strong and painful interest which the peculiar state of the times, and almost the occurrences of the hour create, can scarcely counterbalance the wearisome aversion inspired by the deformity and palpableness of the subject itself. As the plan originates in the malignant restlessness of desperate ambition or desperate circumstances, so are its means and engines a drag-net of fraud and delusion. *The instruments also of the churl are evil, he deviseth wicked devices with lying words.* He employs a compound poison, of which the following are the main ingredients, the proportions varying as the case requires, or the wit of the poisoner suggests. It will be enough rapidly to name and number the components, as in a catalogue. 1. Bold, warm, and earnest assertions, it matters not whether supported by facts or not, nay, though they should involve absurdities and demonstrable impossibilities; as for example, that the amount of the sinecure places given by the executive power would suffice to remove all distress from the land. He is a bungler in the trade, and has been an indocile scholar of his dark master, the father of lies, who cannot make an assertion pass for a fact with an ignorant multitude. The natural generosity of the human heart which makes it an effort to doubt, the confidence which apparent courage inspires, and the contagion of animal enthusiasm, will insure the belief. Even in large assemblies of men highly educated it is too often sufficient to place impressive images in juxtaposition; and the con-

stitutive forms of the mind itself aided by the power of habit will supply the rest. For we all think by causal connections. 2. Startling particular facts, which, dis severed from their context, enable a man to convey falsehood while he says truth. 3. Arguments built on passing events and deriving an undue importance from the feelings of the moment. The mere appeal, however, to the auditors whether the arguments are not such that none but an idiot or a hireling could resist, is an effective substitute for any argument at all. For mobs have no memories. They are in nearly the same state as that of an individual when he makes (what is termed) a bull. The passions, like a fused metal, fill up the wide interstices of thought, and supply the defective links: and thus incompatible assertions are harmonized by the sensation, without the sense, of connection. 4. The display of defects without the accompanying advantages, or *vice versa*. 5. Concealment of the general and ultimate result behind the scenery of local and particular consequences. 6. Statement of positions that are true only under particular conditions, to men whose ignorance or fury, make them forget that these conditions are not present, or lead them to take for granted that they are. 7. Chains of questions, especially of such questions as the persons best authorized to propose are ever the slowest in proposing; and objections, intelligible of themselves, the answers to which require the comprehension of a system. 8. Vague and

common-place satire, stale as the wine in which flies were drowned last summer, seasoned by the sly tale and important anecdote of yesterday, that came within the speaker's own knowledge! 9. Transitions from the audacious charge, not seldom of as signal impudence "as any thing was ever carted for," to the lie pregnant and interpretative: the former to prove the orator's courage, and that he is neither to be bought, nor frightened; the latter to flatter the sagacity of the audience.

————— δῆλός ἐστιν αὐτόξεν

Ἐν πανουργία τε καὶ Ξράσει καὶ κοβαλικέδμασιν.

10. Jerks of style, from the lunatic trope, *ρήμαθ' ἰπποβάμονα, πολλές τε ἀλινδήθρας ἐπῶν*, to the buffoonery and "red-lattice phrases" of the *canaglia*, *σκῶρ συσκεδῶν βόρβορον τε πόλυν καὶ κακίας καὶ συκοφαντίας*; the one in ostentation of superior rank and acquirements (for where envy does not interfere, man loves to look up;) the other in pledge of heartiness and good fellowship. 11. Lastly, and throughout all, to leave a general impression of something striking, something that is to come of it, and to rely on the indolence of men's understandings and the activity of their passions for their resting in this state, as the brood-warmth fittest to hatch whatever serpents' egg opportunity may enable the deceiver to place under it. Let but mysterious expressions* be aided by signifi-

* Vide North's *Examen*, p. 20; and The Knights of Aristophanes. A version of this comedy, abridged and

cant looks and tones, and you may cajole a hot and ignorant audience to believe any thing by saying nothing, and finally to act on the lie which they themselves have been drawn in to make. This is the *pharmacopœia* of political empirics, here and everywhere, now and at all times. These are the drugs administered, and the tricks played off by the mountebanks and zanies of patriotism; drugs that will continue to poison as long as irreligion secures a predisposition to their influence; and artifices that, like stratagems in war, are never the less successful for having succeeded a hundred times before. *They bend their tongues as a bow: they shoot out deceits as arrows: they are prophets of the deceit of their own hearts: they cause the people to err by their dreams and their lightness: they make the people vain, they feed them with wormwood, they give them the water of gall for drink; and the people love to have it so. And what is the end thereof?* (JEREM. *passim.*)

Isaiah answers for me in the concluding words of the description;—*To destroy the poor even*

modernized, would be a most seasonable present to the public. The words quoted above from this play and *The Frogs*, may be rendered freely in the order in which they occur: thus,

1. Thence he is illustrious, as a man of all waters, a bold fellow, and one who knows how to tickle the populace.
2. Phrases on horseback, curvetting and careering words.
3. Scattering filth and dirt, malice and sycophantic tales.

when the needy speaketh aright;—that is, to impel them to acts that must end in their ruin by inflammatory falsehoods, and by working on their passions till they lead them to reject the prior convictions of their own sober and unsophisticated understandings. As in all the preceding features so in this, with which the prophetic portrait is completed, our own experience supplies both proof and example. The ultimate causes of the present distress and stagnation are in my opinion complex and deeply seated; but the immediate occasion is too obvious to be over-looked but by eyes at once red and dim through the intoxication of factious prejudice, that maddening spirit which pre-eminently deserves the title of *vinum dæmonum* applied by an ancient Father of the Church to a far more innocent phrenzy. It is demonstrable that taxes, the product of which is circulated in the country from which they are raised, can never injure a country directly by the mere amount; but either from the time or circumstances under which they are raised, or from the injudicious mode in which they are levied, or from the improper objects to which they are applied. The sun may draw up the moisture from the river, the morass, and the ocean, to be given back in genial showers to the garden, the pasture and the cornfield; but it may likewise force upward the moisture from the fields of industry to drop it on the stagnant pool, the saturated swamp, or the unprofitable sandwaste. The corruptions of

a system can be duly appreciated by those only who have contemplated the system in that ideal state of perfection exhibited by the reason; the nearest possible approximation to which under existing circumstances it is the business of the prudent understanding to realize. Those, on the other hand, who commence the examination of a system by identifying it with its abuses or imperfections, degrade their understanding into the pander of their passions, and are sure to prescribe remedies more dangerous than the disease. Alas! there are so many real evils, so many just causes of complaint in the constitutions and administration of all governments, our own not excepted, that it becomes the imperious duty of the true patriot to prevent, as much as in him lies, the feelings and efforts of his fellow-country-men from losing themselves on a wrong scent.

If then we are to master the ideal of a beneficent and judicious system of finance as the preliminary to all profitable insight into the defects of any particular system in actual existence, we could not perhaps find an apter illustration than the gardens of southern Europe would supply. The tanks or reservoirs would represent the capital of a nation; while the hundred rills hourly varying their channels and directions under the gardener's spade would give a pleasing image of the dispersion of that capital through the whole population by the joint effect of taxation and trade. For taxation itself is a part of commerce, and the Government

may be fairly considered as a great manufacturing-house, carrying on in different places, by means of its partners and overseers, the trades of the ship-builder, the clothier, the iron-founder, and the like. As long as a balance is preserved between the receipts and the returns of Government in their amount, quickness, and degree of dispersion; as long as the due proportion obtains in the sums levied to the mass in productive circulation, so long does the wealth and circumstantial prosperity of the nation,—(its wealth, I say, not its real welfare; its outward prosperity, but not necessarily its happiness)—remain unaffected, or rather they will appear to increase in consequence of the additional *stimulus* given to the circulation itself by the reproductive action of all large capitals, and through the check which taxation, in its own nature, gives to the indolence of the wealthy in its continual transfer of property to the industrious and enterprising. If different periods be taken, and if the comparative weight of the taxes at each be calculated, as it ought to be, not by the sum levied on each individual, but by the sum left in his possession, the settlement of the account will be in favor of the national wealth, to the amount of all the additional productive labor sustained or excited by the taxes during the intervals between their efflux and their re-absorption.

But on the other hand, in a direct *ratio* to this increase will be the distress produced by the disturbance of this balance, by the loss of this pro-

portion; and the operation of the distress will be at least equal to the total amount of the difference between the taxes still levied, and the *quantum* of aid withdrawn from individuals by the abandonment of others, and of that which the taxes, that still remain, have ceased to give by the altered mode of their re-dispersion. But to this we must add the number of persons raised and reared in consequence of the demand created by the preceding state of things, and now discharged from their occupations: whether the latter belong exclusively to the executive power, as that of soldiers and the like, or from those in which the labourers for the nation in general are already sufficiently numerous. Both these classes are thrown back on the public, and sent to a table where every seat is pre-occupied. The employment lessens as the number of men to be employed is increased; and not merely in the same, but from additional causes and from the indirect consequences of those already stated, in a far greater *ratio*. For it may easily happen, that the very same change, which had produced this depression at home, may from equivalent causes have embarrassed the countries in commercial connection with us. At one and the same time the great customer at home wants less, and our customers abroad are able to buy less. The conjoint action of these circumstances will furnish, for a mind capable of combining them, a sufficient solution of the melancholy fact. They cannot but occasion much distress, much obstruction,

and these again in their re-action are sure to be more than doubled by the still greater and universal alarm, and by the consequent check of confidence and enterprise, which they never fail to produce.

Now it is a notorious fact, that these causes did all exist to a very extraordinary degree, and that they all worked with united strength, in the late sudden transition from war to peace. It was one among the many anomalies of the late war, that it acted, after a few years, as a universal stimulant. We almost monopolized the commerce of the world. The high wages of our artizans and the high prices of agricultural produce intercirculated. Leases of no unusual length not seldom enabled the provident and thrifty farmer to purchase the estate he had rented. Every where might be seen roads, railways, docks, canals, made, making, and projected; villages swelling into towns, while the metropolis surrounded itself, and became (as it were) set with new cities. Finally, in spite of all the waste and havock of a twenty years' war the population of the empire was increased by more than two millions. The efforts and war-expenditure of the nation, and the yearly revenue, were augmented in the same proportion: and to all this we must add a fact of the utmost importance in the present question, that the war did not, as was usually the case in former wars, die away into a long expected peace by gradual exhaustion and weariness on both

sides, but plunged to its conclusion by a concentration, we might almost say, by a spasm of energy, and consequently by an anticipation of our resources. We conquered by compelling revolutionary power into alliance with our existing and natural strength. The first intoxication of triumph having passed over, this our agony of glory was succeeded of course by a general stiffness, and relaxation. The antagonist passions came into play; financial solicitude was blended with constitutional and political jealousies, and both, alas! were exacerbated by personal imprudences, the chief injury of which consisted in their own tendency to disgust and alienate the public feeling. And with all this, the financial errors and prejudices even of the more educated classes, in short, the general want or imperfection of clear views and a scientific insight into the true effects and influences of taxation, and the mode of its operation, became now a real misfortune, and opened an additional source of temporary embarrassment. Retrenchment could no longer proceed by cautious and calculated steps; but was compelled to hurry forward, like one who crossing the sands at too late an hour finds himself threatened by the inrush of the tide. Nevertheless, it was a truth susceptible of little less than mathematical demonstration, that the more, and the more suddenly, the revenue was diminished by the abandonment of the war-taxes, the greater would be the disturbance of the

balance :* so that the agriculturalist, the manufacturer, or the tradesman,—(all in short but annuitants and fixed stipendiaries)—who during the war having paid as five had fifteen left behind, would shortly have less than ten after having paid but two and a half. What then the pressure on the country must be, when we add to the above the operation of the return to cash payments, without any change made in the intrinsic value of the coin, and so as in effect to reimpose the amount of taxes, nominally remitted, may be easily understood.

But there is yet another circumstance, which I must not pass by unnoticed. In the best of times—or what the world calls such—the spirit of com-

* The disturbance of this balance may be illustrated thus :—Suppose a great capitalist to have founded in a large market-town a factory that gradually increasing employed at length from five to six hundred workmen ; and that he had likewise a second factory at a distance from the former (in the Isle of Man for instance) employing half that number, all of the latter having been drafted from and still belonging to the first parish. After some years we may further suppose, that a large proportion of the housekeepers and tradespeople might have a running account with the capitalist, many with him, as being their landlord, and still more for their stock. The workmen would in like manner be for the greater part on the books of the tradesfolks. As long as this state of things continued, all would go on well ;—nay, the town would be more prosperous with every increase of the factory. The balance is preserved. The circulations counterpoise each other, or rather they are neutralized by interfluence. But some sudden event leads or compels the capitalist to put down both factories at once and with little or no warning ; and to call in all the monies owing to him,

merce will occasion great fluctuations, some falling while others rise, and therefore in all times there will be a large sum of individual distress. Trades likewise have their seasons, and at all times there is a very considerable number of artificers who are not employed on the average more than seven or eight months in the year: and the distress from this cause is great or small in proportion to the greater or less degree of dissipation and improvidence prevailing among them. But besides this, that artificial life and vigor of trade and agriculture, which was produced or occasioned by the direct or indirect influences of the late war, proved by no means innoxious in its effects. Habit

and which by law had the preference to all other debts. What would be the consequence? The workmen are no longer employed, and cannot at once pay up their arrears to the tradesmen; and though the capitalist should furnish the latter with goods at half price, and make the same abatement in their rent, these deductions would afford little present relief: while, in the meantime the discharged workmen from the distant factory would fall back on the parish, and increase the general distress. The balance is disturbed. Put the country at large for the parishioners, and the government in all departments of expenditure for the capitalist and his factories: and nearly such is the situation in which we are placed by the transition from the late war to the present peace. But the difference is this. The town may never recover its temporary prosperity, and the capitalist may spend his remaining fortune in another county; but a nation, of which the Government is an organic part with perfect interdependence of interests, can never remain in a state of depression thus produced, but by its own fault: that is from moral causes.

and the familiarity with outward advantages, which takes off their dazzle ; sense of character ; and above all, the counterpoise of intellectual pursuits and resources ; are all necessary preventives and antidotes to the dangerous properties of wealth and power with the great majority of mankind. It is a painful subject : and I leave to your own experience and recollection the assemblage of folly, presumption, and extravagance, that followed in the procession of our late unprecedented prosperity ; the blind practices and blending passions of speculation in the commercial world, with the shoal of ostentatious fooleries and sensual vices which the sudden influx of wealth let in on our farmers and yeomanry. Now though the whole mass of calamity consequent on these aberrations from prudence should in all fairness be attributed to the sufferer's own conduct ; yet when there supervenes some one common cause or occasion of distress which pressing hard on many furnishes a pretext to all, this too will pass muster among its actual effects, and assume the semblance and dignity of national calamity. Each unfortunate individual shares during the hard times in the immunities of a privileged order, as the most tottering and ruinous houses equally with those in best repair are included in the same brief after an extensive fire. The change of the moon will not produce a change of weather, except in places where the atmosphere has from local and particular causes been predisposed to its influence. But the former is one, placed aloft and

conspicuous to all men; the latter are many and intricate, and known to few. Of course it is the moon that must bear the entire blame of wet summers and scanty crops. All these, however, whether they are distresses common to all times alike, or though occasioned by the general revolution and stagnation, yet really caused by personal improvidence or misconduct, combine with its peculiar and inevitable effects in making the cup overflow. The latter class especially, as being in such cases always the most clamorous sufferers, increase the evil by swelling the alarm.

The main causes of the present exigencies are so obvious, and lie so open to the common sense of mankind, that the labouring classes saw the connection of the change in the times with the suddenness of the peace, as clearly as their superiors, and being less heated with speculation, were in the first instance less surprised at the results. To a public event of universal concern there will often be more attributed than belongs to it; but never in the natural course of human feelings will there be less. That the depression began with the peace would have been of itself a sufficient proof with the many that it arose from the peace. But this opinion suited ill with the purposes of sedition. The truth, that could not be precluded, must be removed: and *when the needy speaketh aright*, the more urgent occasion is there for the *wicked device* and the lying words. Where distress is felt, tales of wrong and oppression are readily be-

lieved, to the sufferer's own disquiet. Rage and revenge make the cheek pale and the hand tremble worse than even want itself: and the cup of sorrow overflows by being held unsteadily. On the other hand nothing calms the mind in the hour of bitterness so efficaciously as the conviction that it was not within the means of those above us, or around us, to have prevented it. An influence, mightier than fascination, dwells in the stern eye of necessity, when it is fixed steadily on a man: for together with the power of resistance it takes away its agitations likewise. This is one mercy that always accompanies the visitations of the Almighty when they are received as such. If therefore the sufferings of the lower classes are to supply air and fuel to their passions, and are to be perverted into instruments of mischief, they must be attributed to causes that can be represented as removable; either to individuals who have been previously rendered unpopular, or to whole classes of men, accordingly as the immediate object of their seducers may require. What, though nothing should be more remote from the true cause? What, though the invidious charge should be not only without proof, but in the face of strong proof to the contrary? What, though the pretended remedy should have no possible end but that of exasperating the disease? All will be of little or no avail if these truths have not been administered beforehand. When *the wrath is gone forth, the plague is already begun. Wrath is cruel, and*

where is there a deafness like that of an outrageous multitude? *For as the matter of fire is, so it burneth.* Let the demagogue but succeed in maddening the crowd, he may bid defiance to demonstration, and direct the madness against whom it pleaseth him. *A slanderous tongue has disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation; strong cities hath it pulled down and overthrown the houses of great men.* (Ecclus. xxviii. 14.)

We see in every promiscuous public meeting the effect produced by the bold assertion that the present hardships of all classes are owing to the number and amount of pensions and sine-cures. Yet from the unprecedented zeal and activity in the education* of the poor, of the thousands that

* With all due humility we contended that the war in question had likewise its golden side. The anomalous occasions and stupendous events of the contest had roused us, like the blast of a trumpet from the clouds; and as many as were capable of thinking were roused to thought. It had forced on the higher and middle classes—say, rather on the people at large, as distinguished from the mere populace—the home truth, that national honesty and individual safety, private morals and public security, mutually grounded each other, that they were twined at the very root, and could not grow or thrive but in intertwine: and we of Great Britain had acquired this instruction without the stupifying influences of terror or actual calamity. Yet that it had operated practically, and in a scale proportional to the magnitude of the occasion, the late and present condition of manners and intellect among the young men at Oxford and Cambridge, the manly sobriety of demeanor, the submission to the routine

are inflamed by, and therefore give credit to, these statements, there are few without a child at home, who could prove their impossibility by the first and simplest rules of arithmetic; there is not one, perhaps, who taken by himself and in a cooler mood, would stand out against the simple question,—whether it was not folly to suppose that the lowness of his wages or his want of employment could be occasioned by the circumstance, that a sum (the whole of which, as far as it is raised by taxation, cannot take a yearly penny from him) was dispersed and returned into the general circulation by annuitants of the Treasury instead of annuitants of the Bank, by John instead of Peter; however blameable the regulation might be in other respects? What then? the *hypothesis* allows of a

of study in almost all, and the zeal in the pursuit of knowledge and academic distinction in a large and increasing number, afford a cheering testimony to such as were familiar with the state of the two Universities forty or even thirty years ago, with the moral contrast which they presented, at the close of the last, and during the former half of the present reign; while a proof of still greater power, and open to the observation of all men, is supplied by the predominant anxiety concerning the education and principles of their children in all the respectable classes of the community, and the unexampled scale, in consequence, of the very numerous large and small volumes composed or compiled for the use of parents. Nor here did the salutary influence stop. We had been compelled to know and feel that the times in which we had to act or suffer were the *Saturnalia* of revolution; and fearful evidence had been given us at the cost of our unfortunate neighbours, that a vicious and

continual reference to persons, and to all the uneasy and malignant passions which personalities are of all means the best fitted to awaken. The grief itself, however grinding it may be, is of no avail to this end; it must first be converted into a grievance. Were the audience composed chiefly of the lower farmers and the peasantry, the same circumstance would for the same reason have been attributed wholly to the Clergy and the system of tithes; as if the corn would be more plentiful if the farmers paid their whole rent to one man, instead of paying nine parts to the landlords and the tenth to the tithe-owners! But let the meeting be composed of the manufacturing poor, and then it is the machinery of their employers that is devoted to destruction: though it would not exceed the truth if I affirmed, that to the use and

ignorant population was a magazine of combustibles left roofless, while madmen and incendiaries were letting off their new invented blue lights and fire-rockets in every direction. The wish sprang up and spread throughout England that every Englishman should be able to read his Bible, and have a Bible of his own to read. The general wish organized itself into act and plan: a discovery, the living educt of one man's genius and benevolence, rendered the execution practicable and even easy; and the god-like idea began and is proceeding to realize itself with a rapidity yet stedfastness, which nothing could make possible or credible, but such a conviction effected by an experience so strange and awful, and acting on that volunteer spirit, that instinct of fervid yet orderly co-operation, which most of all our honourable characteristics distinguishes, secures, enriches, strengthens and elevates the people of Great Britain. [*From an Essay published in the Courier, July, 1816.*]

perfection of this very machinery the majority of the poor deluded destroyers owe their very existence, owe to it that they ever beheld the light of heaven !

Even so it is with the capitalists and store-keepers, who by spreading the dearness of provisions over a larger space and time prevent scarcity from becoming real famine, the frightful lot at certain and not distant intervals of our less commercial forefathers. These men by the mere instinct of self-interest are not alone birds of warning, that prevent waste ; but as the raven of Elijah, they bring supplies from afar. But let the incendiary spirit have rendered them birds of ill omen : and it is well if the deluded malcontents can be restrained from levelling at them missiles more alarming than the curse of the unwise that alighteth not. *There be three things* (says the wise son of Sirach) *that mine heart feareth, the slander of a city, the gathering together of an unruly multitude, and a false accusation : all these are worse than death.* But all these are the arena, and the chosen weapons of demagogues. Wretches ! they would without remorse detract the hope which is the subliming and expanding warmth of public credit, destroy the public credit which is the vital air of national industry, convert obstruction into stagnation, and make grass grow in the exchange and the market-place ; if so they might but goad ignorance into riot, and fanaticism into rebellion ! They would snatch the last morsel from the poor

man's lips to make him curse the Government in his heart—alas! to fall at length, either ignominiously beneath the strength of the outraged law, or (if God in his anger, and for the punishment of general depravity should require a severer and more extensive retribution) to perish still more lamentably among the victims of its weakness.

Thus then, I have answered at large to the first of the three questions proposed as the heads and divisions of this address. I am well aware that our demagogues are not the only empirics who have tampered with the case. But I felt unwilling to put the mistakes of sciolism, or even those of vanity and self-interest, in the same section with crime and guilt. What is omitted here will find its place elsewhere; the more readily, that having been tempted by the foulness of the ways to turn for a short space out of my direct path, I have encroached already on the second question; that, namely, which respects the ultimate causes and immediate occasions of the complaint.

The latter part of this problem I appear to myself to have solved fully and satisfactorily. To those who deem any further or deeper research superfluous, I must content myself with observing, that I have never heard it denied that there is more than a sufficiency of food in existence. I have, at least, met with no proof that there is or has been any scarcity, either in the materials of all necessary comforts, or any lack of strength, skill and industry to prepare them. If we saw a

man in health pining at a full table because there was not *the savory meat there which he loved*, and had expected, the wanton delay or negligence of the messenger would be a complete answer to our inquiries after the occasion of this sullenness or inappetence ; but the cause of it we should be tempted to seek in the man's own undisciplined temper, or habits of self-indulgence. So far from agreeing therefore with those who find the causes in the occasions, I think the half of the question already solved of very unequal importance with that which yet remains for solution.

The immediate occasions of the existing distress may be correctly given with no greater difficulty than would attend any other series of known historic facts ; but toward the discovery of its true seat and sources, I can but offer a humble contribution. They appear to me, however, resolvable into the *overbalance** of the *commercial spirit in consequence of the absence or weakness of the counter-weights* ; this overbalance considered as displaying itself, 1. in the commercial world itself : 2. in the agricultural : 3. in the Government :

* I entreat attention to the word, over-balance. My opinions would be greatly misinterpreted if I were supposed to think hostilely of the spirit of commerce to which I attribute the largest proportion of our actual freedom, and at least as large a share of our virtues as of our vices. Still more anxiously would I guard against the suspicion of a design to inculcate any number or class of individuals. It is not in the power of a minister or of a cabinet to say to the

and, 4. in the combined influence of all three on the more numerous and labouring classes.

Of the natural counter-forces to the *impetus* of trade, the first that presents itself to my mind, is the ancient feeling of rank and ancestry, compared with our present self-complacent triumph over these supposed prejudices. Not that titles and the rights of precedence are pursued by us with less eagerness than by our forefathers. The contrary is the case; and for this very cause, because they inspire less reverence. In the old times they were valued by the possessors and revered by the people as distinctions of nature, which the Crown itself could only ornament, but not give. Like the stars in heaven, their influence was wider and more general, because for the mass of mankind there was no hope of reaching, and therefore no desire to appropriate, them. That many evils as well as advantages accompanied this state of things I am well aware: and likewise that many of the latter have become incompatible with far more important blessings. It would therefore be sickly affectation to suspend the thankfulness

current of national tendency, Stay here! or, Flow there! The excess can only be remedied by the slow progress of intellect, the influences of religion, and irresistible events guided by Providence. In the points, even, which I have presumed to blame, by the word Government I intend all the directors of political power, that is, the great estates of the realm, temporal and spiritual, and not only the Parliament, but all the elements of Parliament.

due for our immunity from the one in an idle regret for the loss of the other. But however true this may be, and whether the good or the evil preponderated, still, this reverence for ancients in families acted as a counterpoise to the grosser superstition of wealth. Of the efficiency of this counter-influence I can offer negative proof only : and for this we need only look back on the deplorable state of Holland in respect of patriotism and public spirit at and before the commencement of the French Revolution.

The limits and proportions of this address allow little more than a bare reference to this point. The same restraint I must impose on myself in the following. For under this head I include the general neglect of all the austerer studies ; the long and ominous eclipse of philosophy ; the usurpation of that venerable name by physical and psychological empiricism ; and the non-existence of a learned and philosophic public, which is perhaps the only innoxious form of an *imperium in imperio*, but at the same time the only form which is not directly or indirectly encouraged. So great a risk do I incur of malignant interpretation, and the assertion itself is so likely to appear paradoxical even to men of candid minds, that I should have passed over this point, most important as I know it to be ; but that it will be found stated more at large, with all its proofs, in a work on the point of publication. The fact is simply this. We have—lovers, shall I entitle them ?—or must I not rather

hazard the introduction of their own phrases, and say, *amateurs* or *dilettanti*, as musicians, botanists, florists, mineralogists, and antiquarians? Nor is it denied that these are ingenuous pursuits, and such as become men of rank and fortune. Neither in these or in other points do I complain of any excess in the pursuits themselves; but of that which arises from the deficiency of the counterpoise. The effect is the same. Every work, which can be made use of either to immediate profit or immediate pleasure, every work which falls in with the desire of acquiring wealth suddenly, or which can gratify the senses, or pamper the still more degrading appetite for scandal and personal defamation, is sure of an appropriate circulation. But neither philosophy or theology in the strictest sense of the words, can be said to have even a public existence among us. I feel assured that if Plato himself were to return and renew his sublime lucubrations in the metropolis of Great Britain, a handicraftsman from a laboratory, who had just succeeded in disoxydating an earth,—*silex*, or lime, for instance,—would be thought the more respectable, nay, the more illustrious person of the two. Nor will it be the least drawback from his honors, that he had never even asked himself, what law of universal being nature uttered in this *phænomenon*: while the character of a visionary would be the sole remuneration of the man, who from the insight into that law had previously demonstrated the necessity of the fact. As to that which passes

with us under the name of metaphysics, philosophic elements, and the like, I refer every man of reflection to the contrast between the present times and those shortly after the restoration of ancient literature. In the latter we find the greatest men of the age, statesmen, warriors, monarchs, architects in closest intercourse with philosophy. I need only mention the names of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Picus Mirandola, Ficinus and Politian; the abstruse subjects of their discussion, and the importance attached to them, as the requisite qualifications of men placed by Providence as guides and governors of their fellow-creatures. If this be undeniable, equally notorious is it that at present the more effective a man's talents are, and the more likely he is to be useful and distinguished in the highest situations of public life, the earlier does he shew his aversion to the metaphysics and the books of metaphysical speculation, which are placed before him: though they come with the recommendation of being so many triumphs of modern good sense over the schools of ancient philosophy. Dante, Petrarch, Spenser, Philip and Algernon Sidney, Milton and Barrow were Platonists. But all the men of genius, with whom it has been my fortune to converse, either profess to know nothing of the present systems, or to despise them. It would be equally unjust and irrational to seek the solution of this difference in the men; and if not, it can be found only in the philosophic systems themselves. And so in truth it is. The living of

former ages communed gladly with a life-breathing philosophy: the living of the present age wisely leave the dead to take care of the dead.

But whatever the causes may be, the result is before our eyes. An excess in our attachment to temporal and personal objects can be counteracted only by a pre-occupation of the intellect and the affections with permanent, universal, and eternal truths. Let no man enter, said Plato, who has not previously disciplined his mind by geometry.* He considered this science as the first purification of the soul, by abstracting the attention from the accidents of the senses. We too teach geometry; but that there may be no danger of the pupil's becoming too abstract in his conceptions, it has been not only proposed, but the proposal has been adopted, that it should be taught by wooden diagrams. It pains me to remember with what applause a work, that placed the inductions of modern chemistry in the same rank with the demonstrations of mathematical science, was received even in a mathematical University. I must not permit myself to say more on this subject, desirous as I am of shewing the importance of a philosophic class, and of evincing that it is of vital utility, and even an essential element in the composition of a civilized community. It must suffice, that it has been explained in what respect the pursuit of truth for its own sake, and the reverence

* Οὐδείς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω.—*Ed.*

yielded to its professors, has a tendency to calm or counteract the pursuit of wealth ; and that therefore a counterforce is wanting wherever philosophy is degraded in the estimation of society. “ What are you ” (a philosopher was once asked) “ in consequence of your admiration of these abstruse speculations ? ” He answered : “ What I am, it does not become me to say ; but what thousands are, who despise them, and even pride themselves on their ignorance, I see—and tremble ! ”

There is a third influence, alternately our spur and our curb, without which all the pursuits and desires of man must either exceed or fall short of their just measure. Need I add, that I mean the influence of religion ? I speak of that sincere, that entire interest, in the undivided faith of Christ which demands the first-fruits of the whole man, his affections no less than his outward acts, his understanding equally with his feelings. For be assured, never yet did there exist a full faith in the divine Word, (by whom not immortality alone, but light and immortality were brought into the world) which did not expand the intellect while it purified the heart ; which did not multiply the aims and objects of the mind, while it fixed and simplified those of the desires and passions. If acquiescence without insight ; if warmth without light ; if an immunity from doubt given and guaranteed by a resolute ignorance ; if the habit of taking for granted the words of a catechism, remembered or forgotten ; if a sensation of positiveness substituted

—I will not say, for certainty, but—for that calm assurance, the very means and conditions of which it supersedes ; if a belief that seeks the darkness, and yet strikes no root, immovable as the limpet from its rock, and like the limpet fixed there by mere force of adhesion ;—if these suffice to make us Christians, in what intelligible sense could our Lord have announced it as the height and consummation of the signs and miracles which attested his Divinity, that *the Gospel was preached to the poor*? In what sense could the Apostle affirm that believers have received, not indeed the wisdom of this world that comes to nought, but the wisdom of God, that we might know and comprehend the things that are freely given to us of God? or that every Christian, in proportion as he is indeed a Christian, has received the Spirit that searcheth all things, yea, *the deep things of God himself*?—On what grounds could the Apostle denounce even the sincerest fervor of spirit as defective, where it does not bring forth fruits in the understanding? * Or again : if to believe were enough, why are we commanded by another Apostle, that, *besides this, giving all diligence we should add to our faith manly energy and to manly energy knowledge*? (2 Pet. i. 5.) Is it not especially significant, that in the divine economy, as revealed to us in the New Testament, the peculiar office of Redemption is attributed to the Word, that is, to the intel-

* Brethren! be not children in understanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men.

ligential wisdom which from all eternity is with God, and is God; that in Him is life, and the life is the light of men?

In the present day we hear much, and from men of various creeds, of the plainness and simplicity of the Christian religion: and a strange abuse has been made of these words, often indeed with no ill intention, but still oftener by men who would fain transform the necessity of believing in Christ into a recommendation to believe him. The advocates of the latter scheme grew out of a sect that were called Socinians, but having succeeded in disbelieving far beyond the last foot-marks of the Socini, have chosen to designate themselves by the name of Unitarians. But this is a name, which in its proper sense, can belong only to their antagonists: for unity or union, and indistinguishable unicity or oneness, are incompatible terms: while, in the exclusive sense in which they mean the name to be understood, it is a presumptuous boast, and an uncharitable calumny. Their true designation, which simply expresses a fact admitted on all sides, would be that of Psilanthrophists,* or assert-

* New things justify new terms. *Novis in rebus licet nova nobis verba confingere.*—We never speak of the unity of attraction, or of the unity of repulsion; but of the unity of attraction and repulsion in each one corpuscle. The essential diversity of the ideas, unity and sameness, was among the elementary principles of the old logicians; and the sophisms grounded on the confusion of these terms have been ably exposed by Leibnitz, in his critique on Wissowatius, the acutest, perhaps, of all the learned Socinian divines, when Socinian divines were undeniably men of learning.

ors of the mere humanity of Christ. It is the interest of these to speak of the Christian religion as comprised in a few plain doctrines, and containing nothing not intelligible, at the first hearing, to men of the narrowest capacities. Well then, (it might be replied) we are disposed to place a full reliance on the veracity of the great Founder of the Christian religion, and likewise—which is more than you yourselves are on all occasions willing to admit—on the accuracy and competence of the writers, who first recorded his acts and sayings. We have learned from you, whom,—and we now wish to hear from you—what we are to believe. In answer to this request we are referred to a particular fact or incident, recorded of Jesus, by his biographers, the object and purpose of which was, we are told, to produce belief of certain doctrines. And what are these? Those without the previous belief of which, no man would, or rather, according to St. Paul's declaration, could become a convert to Christianity; doctrines, which it is certain that Christ's immediate disciples believed, not less confidently, before they had acknowledged his mission, than they did afterwards. Religion and politics, they tell us, require but the application of a common sense, which every man possesses, to a subject in which every man is concerned. To be a musician, an orator, a painter, or even a good mechanic, presupposes genius; to be an excellent artizan or mechanic requires more than an average degree of talent; but to be a legislator or a theo-

logian, or both at once, demands nothing but common sense! Now, I willingly admit that nothing can be necessary to the salvation of a Christian which is not in his power. For such, therefore, as have neither the opportunity nor the capacity of learning more, sufficient, doubtless, will be the belief of those plain truths, and the fulfilment of those commands, which to be incapable of understanding, is to be a man in appearance only. But even to this scanty creed the disposition of faith must be added: and let it not be forgotten that though nothing can be easier than to understand a code of belief, four-fifths of which consist in avowals of disbelief, and the remainder in truths, concerning which (in this country at least) a man must have taken pains to learn to have any doubt; yet it is by no means easy to reconcile this code of negatives with the declarations of the Christian Scriptures. On the contrary, it requires all the resources of verbal criticism, and all the perverse subtlety of special pleading, to work out a plausible semblance of correspondency between them. It must, however, be conceded that a man may consistently spare himself the trouble of the attempt, and leave the New Testament unread, after he has once thoroughly persuaded himself that it can teach him nothing of any real importance that he does not already know. St. Paul indeed thought otherwise. For though he too teaches us, that in the religion of Christ there is *milk for babes*: yet he informs us at the same time, that

there is *meat for strong men*: and to the like purpose one of the Fathers has observed that in the New Testament there are shallows where the lamb may ford, and depths where the elephant must swim. The Apostle exhorts the followers of Christ to the continual study of the new religion, on the ground that in the mystery of Christ, which in other ages was not made known to the sons of men, and in the riches of Christ which no research could exhaust, there were contained all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom. Accordingly in that earnestness of spirit, which his own personal experience of the truth inspired, he prays with a solemn and a ceremonious fervour, that being *strengthened with might in the inner man, they may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, of that living principle at once the giver and the gift of that anointing faith, which in endless evolution teaches us of all things, and is truth!* For all things are but parts and forms of its progressive manifestation, and every new knowledge but a new organ of sense and insight into this one all-inclusive verity, which, still filling the vessel of the understanding, still dilates it to a capacity of yet other and yet greater truths, and thus makes the soul feel its poverty by the very amplitude of its present, and the immensity of its reversionary, wealth. All truth indeed is simple, and needs no extrinsic ornament. And the more profound the truth is, the more simple: for the whole labour

and building-up of knowledge is but one continued process of simplification. But I cannot comprehend, in what ordinary sense of the words the properties of plainness and simplicity can be applied to the Prophets, or to the writings of St. John, or to the Epistles of St. Paul ; or what can have so marvelously improved the capacity of our laity beyond the same class of persons among the primitive Christians ; who, as we are told by a fellow Apostle, found in the writings last-mentioned many passages hard to be understood, which the *unlearned* as well as the unstable, were in danger of wresting and misinterpreting. I can well understand, however, what is and has been the practical consequence of this notion. It is this very consequence, indeed, that occasioned the preceding remarks, makes them pertinent to my present subject, and gives them a place in the train of argument requisite for its illustration. For what need of any after-recurrence to the sources of information concerning a religion, the whole contents of which can be thoroughly acquired at once, and in a few hours ? An occasional remembrancing may, perhaps, be expedient ; but what object of study can a man propose to himself in a matter of which he knows all that can be known, all at least, that it is of use to know ? Like the first rules of arithmetic, its few plain and obvious truths may hourly serve the man's purposes, yet never once occupy his thoughts. But it is impossible that the affections should be kept constant to an object which gives no employ-

ment to the understanding. The energies of the intellect, increase of insight, and enlarging views, are necessary to keep alive the substantial faith in the heart. They are the appointed fuel to the sacred fire. In the state of perfection all other faculties may, perhaps, be swallowed up in love ; but it is on the wings of the Cherubim, which the ancient Hebrew doctors interpreted as meaning the powers and efforts of the intellect, that we must first be borne up to the pure empyrean : and it must be Seraphs and not the hearts of poor mortals, that can burn unfuelled and self-fed. *Give me understanding* (exclaimed the royal Psalmist) *and I shall observe thy law with my whole heart. Teach me knowledge and good judgment. Thy commandment is exceeding broad : O how I love thy law ! it is my meditation all the day. The entrance of thy words giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple. I prevented the dawning of the morning : mine eyes prevent the night-watches, that I might meditate upon thy word.* Now where the very contrary of this is the opinion of many, and the practice of most, what results can be expected but those which are actually presented to us in our daily experience ?

There is one class of men* who read the Scrip-

* Whether it be on the increase, as a sect, is doubtful. But it is admitted by all—nay, strange as it may seem, made a matter of boast,—that the number of its secret adherents, outwardly of other denominations, is tenfold greater than that of its avowed and incorporated followers. And

tures, when they do read them, in order to pick and choose their faith : or (to speak more accurately) for the purpose of plucking away live-asunder, as it were from the divine organism of

truly in our cities and great manufacturing and commercial towns, among lawyers and such of the tradesfolk as are the ruling members in bookclubs, I am inclined to fear that this has not been asserted without good ground. For, Socinianism in its present form, consisting almost wholly in attack and imagined detection, has a particular charm for what are called shrewd knowing men. Besides, the vain and half-educated, whose Christian and surnames in the title pages of our magazines, lady's diaries, and the like, are the successors of the shame-faced Critos, Phileleutheroses, and Philaletheses in the time of our grandfathers, will be something : and now that Deism has gone out of fashion, Socinianism has swept up its refuse. As the main success of this sect is owing to the small proportion which the affirmative articles of their faith (*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*) bear to the negative, (that is their belief to their disbelief) it will be an act of kindness to the unwary to bring together the former under one point of view. This is done in the following catalogue, the greater part if not the whole of which may be authenticated from the writings of Mr. Belsham.

1. They believe in one God, professing to differ from other Christians only in holding the Deity to be unipersonal, the Father alone being God, the Son a mere, though an inspired and highly gifted, man, and the Holy Spirit either a synonyme of God, or of the divine agency, or of its effects.

2. They believe men's actions necessitated, and consistently with this affirm that the Christian religion (that is, their view of it) precludes all remorse for our sins, they being a present calamity, but not guilt.

3. They believe the Gospels though not written by inspiration, to be authentic histories on the whole: though

the Bible, textuary morsels and fragments for the support of doctrines which they had learned beforehand from the higher oracle of their own natural common-sense. *Sanctas Scripturas frustant ut*

with some additions and interpolations. And on the authority of these writings confirmed by other evidence, they believe in the resurrection of the man Jesus Christ, from the dead.

4. On the historic credibility of this event they believe in the resurrection of the body, which in their opinion is the whole man, at the last day: and differ from other Churches in this only, that while other Christians believe, that all men will arise in the body, they hold that all the bodies that had been men will arise.

5. A certain indefinite number of mankind thus renewed to life and consciousness, it is the common belief of them all, will be placed in a state of happiness and immortality. But with respect to those who have died in the calamitous condition of unreformed sinfulness, (to what extent it is for the supreme Judge to decide) they are divided among themselves. The one party teach, that such unhappy persons will be raised only to be re-annihilated: the other party contend, that there will be a final restoration of all men, with a purgatory or state of remedial discipline, the severity and duration of which will be proportioned to the kind, degree, and obstinacy of the disease, and of which therefore every man is left to his own conjectural hopes and fears: with this comfort however to the very worst, (that is, most unfortunate and erroneous of mankind) that it will be all well with them at last. In this article they differ from the Papists in having no hell, and in placing their purgatory after, instead of before, the day of judgment.

6. Lastly, as they hold only an intellectual and physical, and not a moral, difference in the actions and characters of men, they not being free agents, and therefore not more responsible beings than the true beasts, although their greater

frustrant. Through the gracious dispensations of Providence a complexity of circumstances may co-operate as antidotes to a noxious principle, and realize the paradox of a very good man under a

powers of memory and comparison render them more susceptible of being acted on by prospective motives—(and in this sense they retain the term, responsibility, after having purified it by the ex-inanition of its old, and the transfusion of a new, meaning)—and as they with strict consequence, merge all the attributes of Deity in power, intelligence, and benevolence, (mercy and justice being modes, or rather perspective views, of the two latter; the holiness of God meaning the same or nothing at all; and his anger, offence, and hatred of moral evil, being mere metaphors and figures of speech addressed to a rude and barbarous people) they profess to hold a Redemption—not however by the Cross of Christ, except as his death was an evidence of his sincerity, and the necessary preliminary to his Resurrection; but—by the effects which this fact of his Resurrection, together with his example, and his re-publication of the moral precepts (taught indeed long before, but as they think, not so clearly, by Moses and the Prophets) were calculated to produce on the human mind. So that if it had so happened, that a man had been influenced to an innocent and useful life by the example, precepts, and martyrdom of Socrates, Socrates, and not Christ, would have been his Redeemer.

These are all the positives of the modern Socinian Creed, and even these it was not possible to extricate wholly from the points of disbelief. But if it should be asked, why this resurrection, or re-creation is confined to the human animal, the answer must be,—that more than this has not been revealed. And so far all Christians will join assent. But some have added, and in my opinion much to their credit, that they hope it may be the case with the brutes likewise, as they see no sufficient reason to the contrary. And truly, upon their scheme, I agree with them. For if man be no other or

very evil faith. It is not denied that a Socinian may be as honest, useful and benevolent a character as any of his neighbours ; and if he thinks more and derives a larger portion of his pleasures from intellectual sources, he is likely to be more

nobler creature essentially, than he is represented in their system, the meanest reptile, that maps out its path on the earth by lines of slime, must be of equal worth and respectability, not only in the sight of the Holy One, but by a strange contradiction even before man's own reason. For remove all the sources of esteem and the love founded on esteem, and whatever else pre-supposes a will and therein a possible transcendence to the material world ; mankind, as far as my experience has extended, (and I am less than the least of many whom I could cite as having formed the very same judgment) are on the whole distinguished from the other beasts incomparably more to their disadvantage, by lying, treachery, ingratitude, massacre, thirst of blood, and by sensualities which both in sort and degree it would be libelling their brother-beasts to call bestial, than to their advantage by a greater extent of intellect. And what indeed, abstracted from the free-will, could this intellect be but a more shewy instinct of more various application indeed, but far less secure, useful, or adapted to its purposes, than the instinct of birds, insects, and the like. In short, as I have elsewhere observed, compared with the wiles and factories of the spider, or with the cunning of the fox, it would be but a more efflorescent, and for that very cause a less efficient, salt to preserve the hog from putrifying before its destined hour.

Well may the words of Isaiah be applied and addressed to the teachers and followers of this sect, or rather, I would say, to their tenets as personified—*The word of the Lord was unto them, precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little, that they might go and fall backward, and be broken and spared. Wherefore, hear the word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule this people ! Because ye have said, We*

so. But in such instances, (and that they are not infrequent, I am, from my own experience, most willing to bear witness,) the fruit is from the grafts, not from the tree. The native produce is, or would be, an intriguing, overbearing, scornful and worldly disposition; and in point of fact, it is the only scheme of religion that inspires in its adherents a contempt for the understandings of all who differ from them.* But be this as it may, and whatever be its effects, it is not probable that Christianity will have any direct influence on men who pay it no other compliment than that of calling by its name the previous dictates and decisions of their own mother-wit.

Still, however, the more numerous class is of those who do not trouble themselves at all with religious matters, which they resign to the clergyman of the parish. But whilst not a few among these men consent to pray and hear by proxy; and whilst others, more attentive to the prudential advantages of a decorous character, yield the customary evidence of their Church-membership; but, this performed, are at peace with themselves, and

have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement! Your covenant with death shall be annulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand. For your bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself upon it, and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it.—xxviii.

* A Calvinist, or Moravian, for instance, would lament over a disbeliever in their peculiar tenets, as over one from whom the gift of faith had been hitherto withholden; but would readily join in attestation of his talents, learning, good morals, and all natural gifts.—1827.

—————think their Sunday's task
As much as God or man can fairly ask ;—

there exists amongst the most respectable laity of our cities and great towns, an active, powerful, and enlarging minority, whose industry, while it enriches their families, is at the same time a support to the revenue, and not seldom enlivens their whole neighbourhood : men whose lives are free from all disreputable infirmities, and of whose activity in the origination, patronage, and management both of charitable and of religious associations, who must not have read or heard ? and which who that has, will dare deny to be most exemplary ? After the custom of our forefathers, and their pure household religion, these, in so many respects estimable persons, are for the greater part in the habit of having family-prayer, and a portion of Scripture read every morning and evening. In this class, with such changes or substitutions as the peculiar tenets of the sect require, we must include the sensible, orderly and beneficent Society of the Friends. Here then, if any where, (that is, in any class of men ; for the present argument is not concerned with individuals,) we may expect to find Christianity tempering commercial avidity and sprinkling its holy damps on the passion of accumulation. This, I say, we might expect to find, if an undoubting belief in the threats and promises of Revelation, and a consequent regularity of personal, domestic, and social demeanor, sufficed to constitute that Christianity, the power and privilege of which is so to renew and irradiate the whole intelligential and moral life

of man, as to overcome the *spirit of the world*. If this, the appointed test, were found wanting, should we not be forced to apprehend, nay, are we not compelled to infer, that the spirit of prudential motive, however ennobled by the magnitude and awfulness of its objects,* and though as the termination of a lower,—it may be the commencement (and not seldom the occasion) of a higher state,—is not, even in respect of morality itself, that abiding and continuous principle of action, which is either one with the faith spoken of by St. Paul, or its immediate offspring. It cannot be that

* And in this alone, Paley, by a use of terms altogether arbitrary, places the distinction between prudence and virtue, the former being self-love in its application to the sum of pain and pleasure that is likely to result to us, as the consequence of our actions, in the present life only ; while the latter is the same self-love, that together with the present consequences of our actions, takes in likewise the more important enjoyments or sufferings which, accordingly as we obey or disobey His known commands, God has promised to bestow, or threatened to inflict, on us in the life to come.^a According to this writer, it becomes the duty of a rational free agent (it would be more pertinent to say, of a sentient

^a “ And from this account of obligation it follows, that we are obliged to nothing but what we ourselves are to gain or lose something by ; for nothing else can be a violent motive to us. As we should not be obliged to obey the laws or the magistrate, unless rewards or punishments, pleasure or pain, somehow or other, depended upon our obedience ; so neither should we, without the same reason, be obliged to do what is right, to practise virtue, or to obey the commands of God.”—Paley, *Moral and Polit. Phil.* B. II. c. 2. *et passim*.

spirit of obedience to the commands of Christ, by which the soul dwelleth in him, and he in it; and which our Saviour himself announces as a *being born again*. And this indispensable act, or influence, or impregnation, of which, as of a divine tradition, the eldest philosophy is not silent; which flashed through the darkness of the pagan mysteries; and which it was therefore a reproach to a master in Israel, that he had not already known; this is elsewhere explained, as a seed which, though

animal capable of forecast) to reduce his will to an habitual coincidence with his reason, on no other ground, but because he believes that God is able and determined either to gratify or to torment him. Thus, the great principle of the Gospel, that we are bound to love our neighbours as ourselves and God above all, must, if translated into a consistency with this theory of enlightened self-love, run thus: On the ground of our fear of torment and our expectation of pleasure from an infinitely powerful Being, we are under a prudential obligation of acting towards our neighbours as if we loved them equally with ourselves; but ultimately and in very truth to love ourselves only. And this is the work, this the system of moral and political philosophy cited as highest authority in our Senate and Courts of Judicature? And (still worse!) this is the text-book for the moral lectures at one of our Universities, justly the most celebrated for scientific ardor and manly thinking. It is not without a pang of filial sorrow that I make this acknowledgement, which nothing could have extorted from me but the strongest conviction of the mischievous and debasing tendencies of that wide-spread system, in which the Works of Paley (his Sermons excepted) act not the less pernicious part, because the most decorous and plausible. The fallacious sophistry of the grounding principle in this whole system has been detected by Des Cartes, and Bishop Butler; and of late years, with great ability and originality, by Mr. Hazlitt.

of gradual developement, did yet potentially contain the essential form not merely of a better, but of another life ;—amidst all the frailties and transient eclipses of mortality making, I repeat, the subjects of this regeneration not so properly better as other men, whom therefore the world could not but hate, as aliens. Its own native growth, to whatever height it had been improved by cultivation (whether through the agency of blind sympathies, or of an intelligent self-interest, the two best guides to the loftiest points to which the worldly life can ascend) the world has always been ready and willing to acknowledge and admire. *They are of the world : therefore speak they out of the heart of the world* (ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου) *and the world heareth them.* (1. John, iv.)

To abstain from acts of wrong and violence, to be moreover industrious, useful, and of seemly bearing, are qualities presupposed in the Gospel code, as the preliminary conditions, rather than the proper and peculiar effects, of Christianity. But they are likewise qualities so palpably indispensable to the temporal interests of mankind that, if we except the brief frenzies of revolutionary riot, there never was a time, in which the world did not profess to reverence them : nor can we state any period, in which a more than ordinary character for assiduity, regularity, and charitableness did not secure the world's praise and favor, and were not calculated to advance the individual's own worldly interests : provided only, that his

manners and professed tenets were those of some known and allowed body of men.

I ask then, what is the fact? We are—and, till its good purposes, which are many, have been all achieved, and we can become something better, long may we continue such!—a busy, enterprising, and commercial nation. The habits attached to this character must, if there exist no adequate counterpoise, inevitably lead us, under the specious names of utility, practical knowledge, and so forth, to look at all things through the *medium* of the market, and to estimate the worth of all pursuits and attainments by their marketable value. In this does the spirit of trade consist. Now would the general experience bear us out in the assertion, that amid the absence or declension of all other antagonist forces, there is found in the very circle of the trading and opulent themselves, in the increase, namely, of religious professors among them, a spring of resistance to the excess of the commercial *impetus*, from the impressive example of their unworldly feelings evidenced by their moderation in worldly pursuits? I fear, that we may anticipate the answer wherever the religious zeal of such professors does not likewise manifest itself by the glad devotion of as large a portion of their time and industry, as the duty of providing a fair competence for themselves and their families leaves at their own disposal, to the comprehension of those inspired writings and the evolution of those pregnant truths, which are proposed for our earnest, sedulous research, in order that by occupying

our understandings they may more and more assimilate our affections. I fear, that the inquiring traveller would more often hear of zealous religionists who have read (and as a duty too and with all due acquiescence) the prophetic, *Wo to them that join house to house and lay field to field, that they may be alone in the land!*—and yet find no object deform the beauty of the prospect from their window or even from their castle turrets so annoyingly, as a meadow not their own, or a field under ploughing with the beam-end of the plough in the hands of its humble owner! I fear that he must too often make report of men lawful in their dealings, Scriptural in their language, alms-givers, and patrons of Sunday schools, who are yet resistless and overawing bidders at all land auctions in their neighbourhood, who live in the centre of farms without leases, and tenants without attachments! Or if his way should lie through our great towns and manufacturing districts, instances would grow cheap with him of wealthy religious practitioners, who never travel for orders without cards of edification in prose and verse, and small tracts of admonition and instruction, all “plain and easy, and suited to the meanest capacities;” who pray daily, as the first act of the morning and as the last of the evening, *Lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil!* and employ all the interval with an edge of appetite keen as the scythe of death in the pursuit of yet more and yet more of a temptation so perilous, that (as they have full often read, and heard read,

without the least questioning, or whisper of doubt) no power short of omnipotence could make their deliverance from it credible or conceivable. Of all denominations of Christians, there is not one in existence or on record whose whole scheme of faith and worship was so expressly framed for the one purpose of spiritualizing the mind and of abstracting it from the vanities of the world, as the Society of Friends, not one, in which the members are connected, and their professed principles enforced, by so effective and wonderful a form of discipline. But in the zeal of their founders and first proselytes for perfect spirituality they excluded from their system all ministers specially trained and educated for the ministry, with all professional theologians: and they omitted to provide for the raising up among themselves any other established class of learned men, as teachers and schoolmasters for instance, in their stead. Even at this day, though the Quakers are in general remarkably shrewd and intelligent in all worldly concerns, yet learning, and more particularly theological learning, is more rare among them in proportion to their wealth and rank in life, and holden in less value, than among any other known sect of Christians. What has been the result? If the occasion permitted, I could dilate with pleasure on their decent manners and decorous morals, as individuals, and their exemplary and truly illustrious philanthropic efforts as a Society. From all the gay and tinsel vanities of the world their discipline has preserved

them, and the English character owes to their example some part of its manly plainness in externals. But my argument is confined to the question, whether religion in its present state and under the present conceptions of its demands and purposes does, even among the most religious, exert any efficient force of control over the commercial spirit, the excess of which we have attributed not to the extent and magnitude of the commerce itself, but to the absence or imperfection of its appointed checks and counteragents. Now as the system of the Friends in its first intention is of all others most hostile to worldly-mindedness on the one hand; and as, on the other, the adherents of this system both in confession and practice confine Christianity to feelings and motives; they may be selected as representatives of the strict, but un-studied and uninquiring, religionists of every denomination. Their characteristic propensities will supply, therefore, no unfair test for the degree of resistance, which our present Christianity is capable of opposing to the cupidity of a trading people. That species of Christianity I mean, which, as far as knowledge and the faculties of thought are concerned,—which, as far as the growth and grandeur of the intellectual man is in question—is to be learnt *ex tempore!* A Christianity poured in on the *catechumen* all and all at once, as from a shower-bath: and which, whatever it may be in the heart, yet for the understanding and reason is from boyhood onward a thing past

and perfected. If the almost universal opinion be tolerably correct, the question is answered. But I by no means appropriate the remark to the wealthy Quakers, or even apply it to them in any particular or eminent sense, when I say, that often as the motley reflexes of my experience move in long procession of manifold groups before me, the distinguished and world-honored company of Christian Mammonists appears to the eye of my imagination as a drove of camels heavily laden, yet all at full speed, and each in the confident expectation of passing through the *eye of the needle*, without stop or halt, both beast and baggage.

Not without an uneasy reluctance have I ventured to tell the truth on this subject, lest I should be charged with the indulgence of a satirical mood and an uncharitable spleen. But my conscience bears me witness, and I know myself too near the grave to trifle with its name, that I am solely actuated by a sense of the exceeding importance of the subject at the present moment. I feel it an awful duty to exercise the honest liberty of free utterance in so dear a concernment as that of preparing my country for a change in its external relations, which must come sooner or later; which I believe to have already commenced; and that it will depend on the presence or absence of a corresponding change in the mind of the nation, and above all in the aims and ruling opinions of our gentry and monied men, whether it is to cast down our strength and prosperity, or to fix them on a

firmer and more august basis. " Surely to every good and peaceable man it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands ;* * * but when God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say and what he shall conceal."*

That my complaints, both in this and in my former Lay Sermon, concerning the same errors, are not grounded on any peculiar notions of mine, the following remarks of a great and good man, not less illustrious for his piety and fervent zeal as a Christian, than for his acuteness and profundity as a philosopher, may, perhaps, be accepted as proof.

" Prevailing studies," he observes, " are of no small consequence to a state, the religion, manners, and civil government of a country ever taking some bias from its philosophy, which affects not only the minds of its professors and students, but also the opinions of all the better sort, and the practice of the whole people, remotely and consequentially indeed, though not inconsiderably. Have not the doctrines of necessity and materialism, with the consequent denial of man's responsibility, of his corrupt and fallen nature, and of the whole scheme of Redemption by the incarnate Word gained ground during the general passion for the corpus-

* Milton. Reason of Church Government, B. II. Introd.
Ed.

cularian and experimental philosophy which hath prevailed about a century? This indeed might usefully enough have employed some share of the leisure and curiosity of inquisitive persons. But when it entered the seminaries of learning, as a necessary accomplishment and as the most important part of knowledge, by engrossing men's thoughts and fixing their minds so much on corporeal objects, it hath, however undesignedly, not a little indisposed them for spiritual, moral, and intellectual matters. Certainly, had the philosophy of Pythagoras and Socrates prevailed in this age, we should not have seen interest take so general and fast hold on the minds of men. But while the employment of the mind on things purely intellectual is to most men irksome, whereas the sensitive powers by our constant use of them, acquire strength, the objects of sense are too often counted the chief good. For these things men fight, cheat, and scramble. Therefore, in order to tame mankind and introduce a sense of virtue, the best human means is to exercise their understanding, to give them a glimpse of a world superior to the sensible; and while they take pains to cherish and maintain the animal life, to teach them not to neglect the intellectual.

“ It might very well be thought serious trifling to tell my readers that the greatest men had ever a high esteem for Plato; whose writings are the touchstone of a hasty and shallow mind; whose

philosophy, the admiration of ages, supplied patriots, magistrates, and lawgivers to the most flourishing states, as well as Fathers to the Church, and Doctors to the Schools. In these days the depths of that old learning are rarely fathomed : and yet it were happy for these lands, if our young nobility and gentry instead of modern maxims would imbibe the notions of the great men of antiquity. But in this free-thinking time, many an empty head is shook at Aristotle and Plato : and the writings of these celebrated ancients are by most men treated on a level with the dry and barbarous lucubrations of the Schoolmen. It may, however, be modestly presumed that there are not many among us, even of those that are called the better sort, who have more sense, virtue, and love of their country than Cicero, who in a letter to Atticus could not forbear exclaiming, *O Socrates et Socratici viri ! nunquam vobis gratiam referam.* Would to God, many of our countrymen had the same obligations to those Socratic writers ! Certainly, where the people are well educated, the art of piloting a state is best learnt from the writings of Plato. But among a people void of discipline and a gentry devoted to vulgar cares and views, Plato, Pythagoras, and Aristotle themselves, were they living, could do but little good."

Thus, then, of the three most approved antagonists to the spirit of barter, and the accompanying disposition to overvalue riches with all the means

and tokens thereof—of the three fittest and most likely checks to this tendency, namely, the feeling of ancient birth and the respect paid to it by the community at large; a genuine intellectual philosophy with an accredited, learned, and philosophic class; and lastly, religion; we have found the first declining, the second not existing, and the third efficient, indeed, in many respects and to many excellent purposes, only not in this particular direction: the religion here spoken of, having long since parted company with that inquisitive and bookish theology which tends to defraud the student of his worldly wisdom, inasmuch as it diverts his mind from the accumulation of wealth by pre-occupying his thoughts in the acquisition of knowledge. For the religion of best repute among us holds all the truths of Scripture and all the doctrines of Christianity so very transcendant, or so very easy, as to make study and research either vain or needless. It professes, therefore, to hunger and thirst after righteousness alone, and the rewards of the righteous; and thus habitually taking for granted all truths of spiritual import leaves the understanding vacant and at leisure for a thorough insight into present and temporal interests: which, doubtless, is the true reason why its followers are in general such shrewd, knowing, wary, well-informed, thrifty and thriving men of business. But this is likewise the reason, why it neither does nor can check or circumscribe the spirit of barter; and to the consequent monopoly which this commercial

spirit possesses, must its over-balance be attributed, not the extent or magnitude of the commerce itself.

Before I enter on the result assigned by me as the chief ultimate cause of the present state of the country, and as the main ground on which the immediate occasions of the general distress have worked, I must entreat my readers to reflect that the spirit of trade has been a thing of insensible growth; that whether it be enough, or more or less than enough, is a matter of relative, rather than of positive, determination; that it depends on the degree in which it is aided or resisted by all the other tendencies that co-exist with it; and that in the best of times this spirit may be said to live on a narrow *isthmus*, between a sterile desert and a stormy sea, still threatened and encroached on either by the too much or the too little. As the argument does not depend on any precise accuracy in the dates, I shall assume it to have commenced as an influencing part of the national character, with the institution of the public funds in the reign of William III., and from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to have been hurrying onward to its *maximum*, which it seems to have attained during the late war. The short interruptions may be well represented as a few steps backward, that it might leap forward with an additional *momentum*. The words, old and modern, then and now are applied by me, the former to the interval between the Reformation and the Revolution; and the latter to the whole period since the Revolution; the one

from 1460 to 1680, the other from 1680 to the present time.

Having premised this explanation, I can now return an intelligible answer to a question, that will have risen in the reader's mind during his perusal of the last three or four pages. How, it will be objected, does all this apply to the present times in particular? When was the industrious part of mankind not attached to the pursuits most likely to reward their industry? Was the wish to make a fortune, or, if you prefer an invidious phrase, the lust of lucre, less natural to our forefathers than to their descendants? If you say that though a not less frequent, nor less powerful passion with them than with us, it yet met with a more frequent and more powerful check, a stronger and more advanced boundary-line in the religion of old times, and in the faith, fashion, habits, and authority of the religious: in what did this difference consist; and in what way did these points of difference act? If indeed the antidote in question once possessed virtues which it no longer possesses, or not in the same degree, what is the ingredient, either added, omitted, or diminished since that time, which can have rendered it less efficacious now than then?

Well! (I might reply) grant all this: and let both the profession and the professors of a spiritual principle, as a counterpoise to the worldly weights at the other end of the balance, be supposed much the same in one age as in the other. Assume for a moment, that I can establish neither the fact of its

present lesser efficiency, nor any points of difference capable of accounting for it. Yet it might still be a sufficient answer to this objection, that as the commerce of the country, and with it the spirit of commerce, has increased fifty-fold since the commencement of the latter period, it is not enough that the counterweight should be as great as it was in the former period: to remain the same in its effect, it ought to have become very much greater. But though this be a consideration not less important than it is obvious, yet I do not purpose to rest in it. I affirm that a difference may be shown, and of no trifling importance as to that one point, to which my present argument is confined. For let it be remembered that it is not to any extraordinary influences of the religious principle that I am referring, not to voluntary poverty, or sequestration from social and active life, or schemes of mortification. I speak of religion merely as I should of any worldly object, which, as far as it employs and interests a man, leaves less room in his mind for other pursuits: except that this must be more especially the case in the instance of religion, because beyond all other interests it is calculated to occupy the whole mind, and employ successively all the faculties of man; and because the objects which it presents to the imagination as well as to the intellect cannot be actually contemplated, much less can they be the subject of frequent meditation, without dimming the lustre and blunting the rays of all rival attractions. It is well known, and has

been observed of old, that poetry tends to render its devotees* careless of money and outward appearances, while philosophy inspires a contempt of both as objects of desire or admiration. But religion is the poetry and philosophy of all mankind ; unites in itself whatever is most excellent in either, and while it at one and the same time calls into action and supplies with the noblest materials both the imaginative and the intellective faculties, superadds the interests of the most substantial and home-felt reality to both, to the poetic vision and the philosophic idea. But in order to produce a similar effect it must act in a similar way ; it must reign in the thoughts of a man and in the powers akin to thought, as well as exercise an admitted influence over his hopes and fears, and through these on his deliberate and individual acts.

Now as my first presumptive proof of a difference (I might almost have said, of a contrast) between the religious character of the period since the Revolution, and that of the period from the accession of Edward VI to the abdication of James II, I refer to the sermons and to the theolo-

* *Hic error tamen et levis hæc insania quantas
Virtutes habeat, sic collige : vatis avarus
Non temere est animus ; versus amat, hoc studet unum ;
Detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet ;
Non fraudem socio, puerove incogitat ullam
Pupillo ; vivit siliquis et pane secundo :
Militiæ quanquam piger et malus, utilis urbi.*

gical works generally of the latter period. It is my full conviction that in any half dozen sermons of Donne, or Taylor, there are more thoughts, more facts and images, more excitements to inquiry and intellectual effort, than are presented to the congregations of the present day in as many churches or meetings during twice as many months. Yet both these were the most popular preachers of their times, were heard with enthusiasm by crowded and promiscuous audiences, and the effect produced by their eloquence was holden in reverential and affectionate remembrance by many attendants on their ministry, who, like the pious Isaac Walton, were not themselves men of much learning or education. In addition to this fact, think likewise on the large and numerous editions of massy, closely printed folios : the impressions so large and the editions so numerous, that all the industry of destruction for the last hundred years has but of late sufficed to make them rare. From the long list select those works alone, which we know to have been the most current and favourite works of their day : and of these again no more than may well be supposed to have had a place in the scantiest libraries, or perhaps with the Bible and Common Prayer Book to have formed the library of their owner. Yet on the single shelf so filled we should find almost every possible question, that could interest or instruct a reader whose whole heart was in his religion, discussed with a command of intellect that seems to exhaust all the learning and logic, all the historical

and moral relations, of each several subject. The very length of the discourses, with which these rich souls of wit and knowledge fixed the eyes, ears, and hearts of their crowded congregations, are a source of wonder now-a-days, and (we may add) of self-congratulation, to many a sober Christian, who forgets with what delight he himself has listened to a two hours' harangue on a loan or tax, or at the trial of some remarkable cause or culprit. The transfer of the interest makes and explains the whole difference. For though much may be fairly charged on the revolution in the mode of preaching as well as in the matter, since the fresh morning and fervent noon of the Reformation, when there was no need to visit the conventicles of fanaticism in order to

See God's ambassador in pulpit stand,
 Where they could take notes from his look and hand ;
 And from his speaking action bear away
 More sermon than our preachers use to say ;

yet this too must be referred to the same change in the habits of men's minds, a change that involves both the shepherd and the flock : though like many other effects, it tends to reproduce and strengthen its own cause.

The last point, to which I shall appeal, is the warmth and frequency of the religious controversies during the former of the two periods ; the deep interest excited by them among all but the lowest and most ignorant classes ; the importance attached to them by the very highest ; the number,

and in many instances the transcendent merit, of the controversial publications—in short, the rank and value assigned to polemic divinity. The subjects of the controversies may or may not have been trifling; the warmth with which they were conducted, may have been disproportionate and indecorous; and we may have reason to congratulate ourselves that the age in which we live, is grown more indulgent and less captious. The fact is introduced not for its own sake, but as a symptom of the general state of men's feelings, and as an evidence of the direction and main channel, in which the thoughts and interests of men were then flowing. We all know that lovers are apt to take offence and wrangle with each other on occasions that perhaps are but trifles, and which assuredly would appear such to those who had never been under the influence of a similar passion. These quarrels may be no proofs of wisdom; but still in the imperfect state of our nature the entire absence of the same, and this too on far more serious provocations, would excite a strong suspicion of a comparative indifference in the feelings of the parties towards each other, who can love so coolly where they profess to love so well. I shall believe our present religious tolerancy to proceed from the abundance of our charity and good sense, when I can see proofs that we are equally cool and forbearing as litigators and political partizans. And I must again intreat my reader to recollect that the present argument is exclusively concerned with the

requisite correctives of the commercial spirit, and with religion therefore no otherwise than as a counter-charm to the sorcery of wealth: and my main position is, that neither by reasons drawn from the nature of the human mind, nor by facts of actual experience, are we justified in expecting this from a religion which does not employ and actuate the understandings of men, and combine their affections with it as a system of truth gradually and progressively manifesting itself to the intellect; no less than as a system of motives and moral commands learnt as soon as heard, and containing nothing but what is plain and easy to the lowest capacities. Hence it is that objects, the ostensible principle of which I have felt it my duty to oppose,* and objects, which and the measures for the attainment of which possess my good wishes and have had the humble tribute of my public advocacy and applause—I am here alluding to the British and Foreign Bible Society—may yet converge, as to the point now in question. They may, both alike, be symptoms of the same predominant disposition to that coalition-system in Christianity, for the expression of which theologians have invented or appropriated the term, Syncretism: †

* See *supra*, p. 241.—Ed.

† *Clementia Evangelica* (writes a German theologian of the last century) *quasi matrona habenda est, purioris doctrinae custos, mitis quidem, at sedula tamen, at vigilans, at seductorum imputiens. Iste vero Syncretismus, quem Laodiceni apud nos tantopere collaudant, nusquam a me nisi meretrix audiet,*

although the former may be an ominous, the latter an auspicious symptom; though the one may be worse from bad, while the other is an instance of good educes from evil. Nay, I will dare confess that I know not how to think otherwise, when I hear a Bishop of the Church publicly exclaim,—(and not viewing it as a lesser inconvenience to be endured for the attainment of a far greater good, but as a thing desirable and to be preferred for its own sake)—No notes! No comment! Distribute the Bible and the Bible only among the poor!—a declaration which from any lower quarter I should have been under the temptation of attributing either to a fanatical notion of immediate illumination superseding the necessity of human teaching, or to an ignorance of difficulties which (and what more worthy?) have successfully employed all the learning, sagacity, and unwearied labors of great and wise men, and eminent servants

fidei vel pigrae vel status sui ignarae proles, postea autem indolis secularis genetrix, et quaecum nec sincera fides, nec genuina caritas commorari feret.

The true Gospel spirit of toleration we should regard as a matron, a kind and gentle guardian indeed of the pure doctrine, but sedulous, but vigilant, but impatient of seducers. This Syncretism on the contrary, which the Loadiceans among us join in extolling so highly, shall no where hear from me other or better name than that of harlot, the offspring of a belief either slothful or ignorant of its own condition, and then the parent of worldly-mindedness, and with whom therefore neither sincere faith nor genuine charity will endure to associate.

of Christ, during all the ages of Christianity, and will doubtless continue to yield new fruits of knowledge and insight to a long series of followers.*

Though an overbalance of the commercial spirit is involved in the deficiency of its counterweights ; yet the facts that exemplify the mode and extent of its operation will afford a more direct and satisfactory kind of proof. And first I am to speak of this overbalance as displayed in the commercial world itself. But as this is the first, so is it for my present purpose the least important point of view. A portion of the facts belonging to this division of the subject I have already noticed ; and for the remainder let the following suffice as the substitute or representative. The moral of the tale I leave to the reader's own reflections. Within the last sixty years or perhaps a somewhat larger period, (for I do not pretend to any nicety of dates, and the documents are of easy access) there have occurred at intervals of about twelve or thirteen years each, certain periodical revolutions

* I am well aware that by these open avowals, that with much to honor and praise in many, there is something to correct in all, parties, I shall provoke many enemies and make never a friend. If I dared abstain, how gladly should I have so done ! Would that the candid part of my judges would peruse or re-peruse the affecting and most eloquent introductory pages of Milton's second book of his " Reason of Church Government urged, &c," and give me the credit, which my conscience bears me witness I am entitled to claim, for all the moral feelings expressed in that exquisite passage.

of credit. Yet revolution is not the precise word. To state the thing as it is, I ought to have said, certain gradual expansions of credit ending in sudden contractions, or, with equal propriety, ascensions to a certain utmost possible height, which has been different in each successive instance; but in every instance the attainment of this its *ne plus ultra* has been instantly announced by a rapid series of explosions (in mercantile language, a crash) and a consequent precipitation of the general system. For a short time this Icarian credit, or rather this illegitimate offspring of confidence, to which it stands in the same relation as Phaeton to his parent god in the old fable, seems to lie stunned by the fall; but soon recovering, again it strives upward, and having once more regained its mid region,

—————thence many a league,
As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides
Audacious;—

till at the destined zenith of its vaporous exaltation,

All unawares, fluttering its pennons vain,—
Plumb down it drops.—

Or that I may descend myself to the cool element of prose,—alarm and suspicion gradually diminish into a judicious circumspectness; but by little and little, circumspection gives way to the desire and emulous ambition of doing business: till impatience and incaution on the one side, tempting and

encouraging headlong adventure, want of principle, and confederacies of false credit on the other, the movements of trade become yearly gayer and giddier; and end at length in a *vortex* of hopes and hazards, of blinding passions and blind practices, which should have been left where alone they ought ever to have been found, among the wicked lunacies of the gaming table.

I am not ignorant that the power and circumstantial prosperity of the nation has been increasing during the same period, with an accelerated force unprecedented in any country, the population of which bears the same proportion to its productive soil; and partly, perhaps, even in consequence of this system. By facilitating the means of enterprise, it must have called into activity a multitude of enterprising individuals and a variety of talent that would otherwise have lain dormant: while by the same ready supply of excitements to labor, together with its materials and instruments, even an unsound credit has been able within a short time to* substantiate itself. I shall perhaps be told too, that the very evils of this system even the periodical crash itself, are to be regarded but

* If by the display of forged Bank notes a speculator should establish the belief of his being a man of large fortune, and gain a temporary confidence in his own paper-money; and if by large wages so paid he should stimulate a number of indolent Highlanders to bring a tract of waste land into profitable cultivation, the promissory notes of the owner, which derived their first value from a delusion, would end in

as so much superfluous steam ejected by the escape pipes, and safety valves of a self-regulating machine: and lastly, that in a free and trading country all things find their level.

I have as little disposition as motive to recant the principles, which in many forms and through various channels I have labored to propagate; but there is surely no inconsistency in yielding all due honor to the spirit of trade, and yet charging sundry evils which weaken or reverse its blessings on the over-balance of that spirit, taken as the paramount principle of action in the nation at large. Much I still concede to the arguments for the present scheme of things, as adduced in the preceding paragraph: but I likewise see, and always have seen, much that needs winnowing. Thus instead of the position, that all things find, it would be less equivocal and far more descriptive of the fact to say, that things are always finding, their level: which might be taken as the paraphrase or ironical definition of a storm. But persons are not things—but man does not find his level. Neither in body nor in soul does the man find his level. After a hard and calamitous season, during

representing a real property, and this their own product. A most improbable case! In its accidental features, I reply, rather than in its essentials. How many thousand acres have been reclaimed from utter unproductiveness, how many doubled in value, by the agency of notes issued beyond the *bona fide* capital of the bank or firm that circulated them, or at best on capital afloat and insecure.

which the thousand wheels of some vast manufactory had remained silent as a frozen water-fall, be it that plenty has returned and that trade has once more become brisk and stirring : go, ask the overseer, and question the parish doctor, whether the workman's health and temperance with the staid and respectful manners best taught by the inward dignity of conscious self-support, have found their level again ! Alas ! I have more than once seen a group of children in Dorsetshire, during the heat of the dog-days, each with its little shoulders up to its ears, and its chest pinched inward, the very habit and fixures, as it were, that had been impressed on their frames by the former ill-fed, ill-clothed, and unfuelled winters. But as with the body, so or still worse with the mind. Nor is the effect confined to the labouring classes, whom by an ominous but too appropriate change in our phraseology we are now accustomed to call the labouring poor. I cannot persuade myself that the frequency of failures with all the disgraceful secrets of fraud and folly, of unprincipled vanity in expending and desperate speculation in retrieving, can be familiarized to the thoughts and experience of men, as matters of daily occurrence, without serious injury to the moral sense : more especially in times when bankruptcies spread, like a fever, at once contagious and epidemic ; swift too as the travel of an earthquake, that with one and the same chain of shocks opens the ruinous chasm in cities that have an ocean between them !—in times,

when the fate flies swifter than the fear, and yet the report, that follows the flash, has a ruin of its own and arrives but to multiply the blow!—when princely capitals are often but the telegraphs of distant calamity: and still worse, when no man's treasure is safe who has adopted the ordinary means of safety, neither the high nor the humble; when the lord's rents and the farmer's store, entrusted perhaps but as yesterday, are asked after at closed doors!—but worst of all, in its moral influences as well as in the cruelty of suffering, when the old labourer's savings, the precious robberies of self-denial from every day's comfort; when the orphan's funds; the widow's livelihood; the fond confiding sister's humble fortune; are found among the victims to the remorseless mania of dishonest speculation, or to the desperate cowardice of embarrassment, and the drunken stupor of a usurious selfishness which for a few months respite dares incur a debt of guilt and infamy, for which the grave itself can plead no statute of limitation. Name to me any revolution recorded in history, that was not followed by a depravation of the national morals. The Roman character during the Triumvirate; and under Tiberius; the reign of Charles II. and Paris at the present moment,—are obvious instances. What is the main cause? The sense of insecurity. On what ground then dare we hope that with the same accompaniment, commercial revolutions should not produce the same effect, in proportion to the extent of their sphere?

But these blessings—with all the specific terms, into which this most comprehensive phrase is to be resolved? Dare we unpack the bales and cases so marked, and look at the articles, one by one? Increase of human life and increase of the means of life are, it is true, reciprocally cause and effect: and the genius of commerce and manufacture has been the cause of both to a degree that may well excite our wonder. But do the last results justify our exultation likewise? Human life, alas! is but the malleable metal, out of which the thievish picklock, the slave's collar, and the assassin's *stiletto* are formed as well as the clearing axe, the feeding plough-share, the defensive sword, and the mechanic tool. But the subject is a painful one: and fortunately the labours of others, with the communications of medical men concerning the state of the manufacturing poor, have rendered it unnecessary. I will rather (though in strict method it should, perhaps, be reserved for the following head) relate a speech made to me near Fort Augustus, as I was travelling on foot through the Highlands of Scotland. The speaker was an elderly and respectable widow, who expressed herself with that simple eloquence, which strong feeling seldom fails to call forth in humble life, but especially in women. She spoke English, as indeed most Highlanders do who speak it at all, with a propriety of phrase and a discrimination of tone and emphasis that more than compensated for the scantiness of her vocabulary. After an affecting account of

her own wrongs and ejection, (which however, she said, bore with comparative lightness on her, who had saved up a wherewithal to live, and was blessed with a son well to do in the world,) she made a movement with her hand in a circle, directing my eye meanwhile to various objects as marking its outline: and then observed, with a deep sigh and a suppressed and slow voice which she suddenly raised and quickened after the first drop or cadence:—"Within this space—how short a time back! there lived a hundred and seventy-three persons: and now there is only a shepherd, and an underling or two. Yes, Sir! One hundred and seventy-three Christian souls, man, woman, boy, girl, and babe; and in almost every home an old man by the fire-side, who would tell you of the troubles before our roads were made; and many a brave youth among them who loved the birth-place of his forefathers, yet would swing about his broad sword and want but a word to march off to the battles over sea: aye, Sir, and many a good lass, who had a respect for herself! Well! but they are gone, and with them the bristled bear,* and the pink haver,† and the potatoe plot that looked as gay as any flower-garden with its blossoms! I sometimes fancy that the very birds are gone, all but the crows and the gleads! Well, and what then? Instead of us all, there is one shepherd man, and it may be a pair of small

* A species of barley.

† A species of oats.

lads—and a many, many sheep! And do you think, Sir! that God allows of such proceedings?”

Some days before this conversation, and while I was on the shores of Loch Katrine,† I had heard of a sad counterpart to the widow's tale, and told with a far fiercer indignation, of a “Laird who had raised a company from the country round about, for the love that was borne to his name, and who gained high preferment in consequence: and that it was but a small part of those that he took away whōm he brought back again. And what were the thanks which the folks had both for those that came back with him, some blind, and more in danger of blindness; and for those that had perished in the hospitals, and for those that fell in battle, fighting before or beside him? Why, that their fathers were all turned out of their farms before the year was over, and sent to wander like so many gipsies, unless they would consent to shed their grey hairs, at ten-pence a day, over the new canals. Had there been a price set upon his head, and his enemies had been coming upon him, he needed but have whistled, and a hundred brave lads would have made a wall of flame round about

† The Lake so widely celebrated since then by a poet, to whose writings a larger number of persons have owed a larger portion of innocent, refined, and heart-bettering amusement, than perhaps to any favourite of the Muses recorded in English literature: while the most learned of his readers must feel grateful for the mass of interesting and highly instructive information scattered throughout his works, in which respect Southey is his only rival.

him with the flash of their broad-swords ! Now if the French should come among us, as (it is said) they will, let him whistle to his sheep and see if they will fight for him !” The frequency with which I heard, during my solitary walk from the end of Loch-Lomond to Inverness, confident expectations of the kind expressed in his concluding words—nay, far too often eager hopes mingled with vindictive resolves—I spoke of with complaint and regret to an elderly man, whom by his dress and way of speaking I took to be a schoolmaster. Long shall I recollect his reply: “ O, Sir, it kills a man’s love for his country, the hardships of life coming by change and with injustice !” I was sometime afterwards told by a very sensible person who had studied the mysteries of political economy, and was therefore entitled to be listened to, ‘ that more food was produced in consequence of this revolution, that the mutton must be eaten somewhere, and what difference where ? If three were fed at Manchester instead of two at Glencoe or the Trosachs, the balance of human enjoyment was in favour of the former.’ I have passed through many a manufacturing town since then, and have watched many a group of old and young, male and female, going to, or returning from, many a factory, but I could never yet persuade myself to be of his opinion. Men, I still think, ought to be weighed not counted. Their worth ought to be the final estimate of their value.

Among the occasions and minor causes of this

change in the views and measures of our land-owners, and as being itself a consequent on that system of credit, the outline of which was given in a preceding page, the universal practice of enhancing the sale price of every article on the presumption of bad debts, is not the least noticeable. Nor, if we reflect that this additional per centage is repeated at each intermediate stage of its elaboration and distribution from the grower or importer to the last retailer inclusively, will it appear the least operative. Necessary, and therefore justifiable, as this plan of reprisal by anticipation may be in the case of each individual dealer, yet taken collectively and without reference to persons, the plan itself would, I suspect, startle an unfamiliarized conscience, as a sort of non-descript piracy, not promiscuous in its exactions only because by a curious anomaly it grants a free pass to the offending party. Or if the law maxim, *volentibus non fit injuria*, is applicable in this case, it may perhaps be described more courteously as a Benefit Society of all the careful and honest men in the kingdom to pay the debts of the dishonest or improvident. It is mentioned here, however, as one of the appendages to the twin paramount causes, the paper currency and the national debt, and for the sake of the conjoint results. Would we learn what these results are;—what they have been in the higher, and what in the most numerous, class of society? Alas! that some of the intermediate rounds in the social ladder have been broken and

not replaced, is itself one of these results. Retrace the progress of things from 1792 to 1813, when the tide was at its height, and then as far as its rapidity will permit, the ebb from its first turn to the dead low-water mark of the last quarter. Then see whether the remainder may not be generalized under the following heads. Fluctuation in the wages of labor, alternate privation and excess (not in all at the same time, but successively in each) consequent improvidence, and over all discontent and a system of factious confederacy:—these form the history of the mechanics and lower ranks of our cities and towns. In the country a peasantry sinking into pauperism, step for step with the rise of the farmer's profits and indulgencies. On the side of the landlord and his compeers, we shall find the presence of the same causes attested by answerable effects. Great as their almost magical effects* were on the increase of prices in the necessaries of life, they were still greater, disproportionally greater, in all articles of shew and luxury. With few exceptions, it soon became difficult, and

* During the composition of this sheet I have had and availed myself of the opportunity of perusing the Report of the Board of Agriculture for the year 1816. The numerous reflections, which this most extraordinary volume excited in my mind, I cannot even touch on in this closing sheet of a Work that has already extended far beyond my original purpose. But had I perused it at the commencement, I should still have felt it my duty to direct the main force of my animadversions against the demagogue class of State-empirics. I was not, indeed, ignorant of the aid, which they derived

at length impracticable, for the gentry of the land, for the possessors of fixed property to retain the rank of their ancestors, or their own former establishments, without joining in the general competition under the influence of the same trading spirit. Their dependents were of course either selected from or driven into the same eddy ; while the temptation of obtaining more than the legal interest for their principal became more and more strong with all persons who, neither trading nor farming, had lived on the interest of their fortunes. It was in this latter class that the rash, and too frequently, the unprincipled projector found his readiest dupes. Had we but the secret history of the building speculations only in the vicinity of the metropolis, too many of its pages would supply an afflicting but instructive comment. That both here, and in all other departments, this increased *momentum* in the spirit of trade has been followed by results of the most desirable nature, I have myself,* exerted my best powers to evince, at a period when to present the fairest and most animating features of the sys-

from other quarters :—nor am I now ashamed of not having anticipated its extent. There is, however, one communication (p. 208 to 227) from Mr. Mosely, from which, with the abatement only of the passage on tithes, I cannot withhold my entire admiration. It almost redeems the remainder of the Report.

* In a variety of articles published at different periods in the Morning Post and Courier ; but with most success in the Essay, before cited, on Vulgar Errors on Taxation, which had the advantage of being transferred almost entire to the

tem, and to prove their vast and charm-like influence on the power and resources of the nation appeared a duty of patriotism. Nothing, however, was advanced incompatible with the position, which even then I did not conceal, and which from the same sense of duty I am now attempting to display; namely, that the extension of the commercial spirit into our agricultural system, added to the overbalance of the same spirit, even within its own sphere; aggravated by the operation of our revenue laws; and finally reflected in the habits, and tendencies of the labouring classes; is the groundwork of our calamity, and the main predisposing cause, without which the late occasions would some of them not have existed, and the remainder not have produced the present distresses.

That agriculture requires principles essentially different from those of trade; that a gentleman ought not to regard his estate as a merchant his cargo, or a shopkeeper his stock,—admits of an easy proof from the different tenure of landed property,‡ and from the purposes of agriculture itself,

columns of a daily paper, of the largest circulation, and from thence, in larger or smaller extracts, to several of our provincial journals. It was likewise reprinted in two of the American Federalist papers: and a translation appeared, I have been told, in the *Hamburgh Correspondenten*.

‡ The very idea of individual or private property in our present acceptance of the term, and according to the current notion of the right to it, was originally confined to moveable things: and the more moveable, the more susceptible of the nature of property. Proceeding from the more to the less

which ultimately are the same as those of the State of which it is the offspring. For I do not include in the name of agriculture the cultivation of a few vegetables by the women of the less savage hunter tribes. If the continuance and independence of the State be its object, the final causes of the State must be its final causes. Let us suppose the negative ends of a State already attained, namely, its own safety by means of its own strength, and the protection of person and property for all its members, there will then remain its positive ends :

perfect right ; we may bring all the objects of an independent ownership under five heads :—namely, 1. precious stones, and other jewels of as easy transfer :—2. precious metals, and foreign coin taken as weight of metal :—3. merchandize, by virtue of the contract between the importer and the sovereign in whose person the unity and integrity of the common wealth were represented ; that is, after the settled price had been paid by the former for the permission to import, and received by the latter under the further obligation of protecting the same :—4. the coin of the country in the possession of the natural subject ; and last of all, and in certain cases, the live stock, the *peculium a pecude*. Hence, the minds of men were most familiar with the term in the case of Jews and aliens : till gradually, the privileges attached to the vicinity of the bishops and mitred abbots prepared an asylum for the fugitive vassal and the oppressed franklin, and thus laid the first foundations of a fourth class of freemen, that of citizens and burghers. To the feudal system we owe the forms, to the Church the substance of our liberty. As comment take, first, the origin of towns and cities ; next, the holy war waged against slavery and villenage, and with such success that the law had barely to sanction *opus jam consummatum* at the Restoration.

—1. to make the means of subsistence more easy to each individual :—2. to secure to each of its members the hope* of bettering his own condition or that of his children :—3. the developement of those faculties which are essential to his humanity, that is, to his rational and moral being. Under the last head I do not mean those degrees of intellectual cultivation which distinguish man from man in the same civilized society, but those only that raise the civilized man above the barbarian, the savage, and the brute. I require, however, on the part of the State, in behalf of all its members, not only the outward means of knowing their essential duties and dignities as men and free men, but likewise, and more especially, the discouragement of all such tenures and relations as must in the very nature of things render this knowledge inert, and cause the good seed to perish as it falls. Such at least is the appointed aim of a State : and at whatever distance from the ideal mark the existing circumstances of a nation may unhappily place the

* The civilized man gives up those stimulants of hope and fear, the mixture or alternation of which constitutes the chief charm of the savage life : and yet his Maker has distinguished him from the brute that perishes, by making hope an instinct of his nature and an indispensable condition of his moral and intellectual progression. But a natural instinct constitutes a natural right, as far as its gratification is compatible with the equal rights of others. Hence our ancestors classed those who were incapable of altering their condition from that of their parents, as bondsmen or villeins, however advantageously they might otherwise be situated.

actual statesman, still every movement ought to be in this direction. But the negative merit of not forwarding—the exemption from the crime of necessitating—the debasement and virtual disfranchisement of any class of the community, may be demanded of every State under all circumstances : and the Government that pleads difficulties in repulse or demur of this claim impeaches its own wisdom and fortitude. But as the specific ends of agriculture are the maintenance, strength, and security, of the State, so (I repeat) must its ultimate ends be the same as those of the State : even as the ultimate end of the spring and wheels of a watch must be the same as that of the watch. Yet least of all things must we overlook or conceal, that morally and with respect to the character and conscience of the individuals, the blame of unfaithful stewardship is aggravated, in proportion as the difficulties are less, and the consequences, lying within a narrower field of vision, are more evident and affecting. An injurious system, the connivance at which we scarcely dare more than regret in the Cabinet or Senate of an Empire, may justify an earnest reprobation in the management of private estates : provided always, that the system only be denounced, and the pleadings confined to the court of conscience. For from this court only can the redress be awarded. All reform or innovation, not won from the free agent by the presentation of juster views and nobler interests, and which does not leave the merit of having effected

it sacred to the individual proprietor, it were folly to propose, and worse than folly to attempt. Madmen only would dream of digging or blowing up the foundation of a house in order to employ the materials in repairing the walls. Nothing more can be asked of the State, no other duty is imposed on it, than to withhold or retract all extrinsic and artificial aids to an injurious system; or at the utmost to invalidate in extreme cases such claims as have arisen indirectly from the letter or unforeseen operations of particular statutes: claims that instead of being contained in the rights of its proprietary trustees are encroachments on its own rights, and a destructive trespass on a part of its own inalienable and untransferable property—I mean the health, strength, honesty, and filial love, of its children.

It would border on an affront to the understandings of the members of our Landed Interest, were I to explain in detail what the plan and conduct would be of a gentleman;* if, as the result of his

* Or, (to put the question more justly as well as more candidly) of the land-owners collectively:—for who is not aware of the facilities that accompany a conformity with the general practice, or of the numerous hinderances that retard, and the final imperfection that commonly awaits, a deviation from it? On the distinction between things and persons all law human and divine is grounded. It consists in this: that the former may be used as mere means; but the latter must not be employed as the means to an end without directly or indirectly sharing in that end.

own free conviction the marketable produce of his estates were made a subordinate consideration to the living and moral growth that is to remain on the land—I mean a healthful, callous-handed but high-and-warm-hearted tenantry, twice the number of the present landless, parish-paid laborers, and ready to march off at the first call of their country with a Son of the House at their head, because under no apprehension of being (forgive the lowness of the expression) marched off at the whisper of a land-taster:—if the admitted rule, the paramount self-commandment, were comprised in the fixed resolve—I will improve my estate to the utmost; and my rent-roll I will raise as much as, but no more than, is compatible with the three great ends (before enumerated) which being those of my country must be mine inclusively:—this, I repeat, it would be more than superfluous to particularize. It is a problem, the solution of which may be safely entrusted to the common sense of every one who has the hardihood to ask himself the question. But how encouraging even the approximations to such a system, of what fair promise the few fragmentary samples are, may be seen in the Report of the Board of Agriculture for 1816, p. 11, from the Earl of Winchelsea's communication, in every paragraph of which wisdom seems to address us in behalf of goodness.

But the plan of my argument requires the reverse of this picture. I am to ask what the results would be, on the supposition that agriculture is

carried on in the spirit of trade ; and if the necessary answer coincide with the known general practice, to shew the connection of the consequences with the present state of distress and uneasiness. In trade, from its most innocent form to the abomination of the African commerce nominally abolished after a hard fought-battle of twenty-years, no distinction is or can be acknowledged between things and persons. If the latter are part of the concern, they come under the denomination of the former. Two objects only can be proposed in the management of an estate considered as stock in trade—first, that the returns shall be the largest, quickest, and securest possible ; and secondly, with the least out-goings in the providing, over-looking and collecting the same,—whether it be expenditure of money paid for other men's time and attention, or of the tradesman's own, which are to him money's worth, makes no difference in the argument. Am I disposing of a bale of goods ? The man whom I most love and esteem must yield to the stranger that outbids him ; or if it be sold on credit, the highest price, with equal security, must have the preference. I may fill up the deficiency of my friend's offer by a private gift, or loan ; but as a tradesman, I am bound to regard honesty and established character themselves, as things, as securities, for which the known unprincipled dealer may offer an unexceptionable substitute. Add to this, that the security being equal, I shall prefer, even at a considerable abatement of

price, the man who will take a thousand chests or bales at once, to twenty who can pledge themselves only for fifty each. For I do not seek trouble for its own sake ; but among other advantages I seek wealth for the sake of freeing myself more and more from the necessity of taking trouble in order to attain it. The personal worth of those, whom I benefit in the course of the process, or whether the persons are really benefited or no, is no concern of mine. The market and the shop are open to all. To introduce any other principle in trade, but that of obtaining the highest price with adequate security for articles fairly described, would be tantamount to the position that trade ought not to exist. If this be admitted, then what as a tradesman I cannot do, it cannot be my duty, as a tradesman, to attempt : and the only remaining question in reason or morality is—what are the proper objects of trade. If my estate be such, my plan must be to make the most of it, as I would of any other mode of capital. As my rents will ultimately depend on the quantity and value of the produce raised and brought into the best market from my land, I will entrust the latter to those who bidding the most have the largest capital to employ on it : and this I cannot effect but by dividing it into the fewest tenures, as none but extensive farms will be an object to men of extensive capital and enterprising minds. I must prefer this system likewise for my own ease and security. The farmer is of course actuated by the same mo-

tives as the landlord : and, provided they are both faithful to their engagements, the object of both will be : 1. the utmost produce that can be raised without injuring the estate ; 2. with the least possible consumption of the produce on the estate itself ; 3. at the lowest wages ; and 4. with the substitution of machinery for human labor wherever the former will cost less and do the same work. What are the modest remedies proposed by the majority of correspondents in the last Report of the Board of Agriculture ? ‘ Let measures be taken that rents, taxes, and wages be lowered, and the markets raised ! A great calamity has befallen us from importation, the lessened purchases of Government, and, “ the evil of a superabundant harvest ” of which we deem ourselves the more entitled to complain, because “ we had been long making 112 shillings per quarter of our corn,” and of all other articles in proportion. As the best remedies for this calamity, we propose that we should pay less to our landlords, less to our laborers, nothing to our clergyman, and either nothing or very little to the maintenance of the Government and of the poor ; but that we should sell at our former prices to the consumer !’—In almost every page we find deprecations of the Poor Laws : and I hold it impossible to exaggerate their pernicious tendency and consequences as at present generally worked. But let it not be forgotten, that in agricultural districts three-fourths of the Poors’ Rates are paid to healthy, robust, and (O sorrow and

shame !) industrious, hard-working paupers in lieu of wages—(for men cannot at once work and starve); and therefore if there are twenty house-keepers in the parish, who are not holders of land, their contributions are so much bounty money to the latter. But the Poor Laws form a subject, which I should not undertake without trembling, had I the space of a whole volume to allot to it. Suffice it to say that this enormous mischief is undeniably the offspring of the commercial system. In the only plausible work, that I have seen, in favor of our Poor Laws on the present plan, the defence is grounded; first, on the expediency of having labor cheap, and estates let out in the fewest possible portions—in other words, of large farms and low wages—each as indispensable to the other, and both conjointly as the only means of drawing capital to the land, by which alone the largest surplus is attainable for the State; that is, for the market, or in order that the smallest possible proportion of the largest possible produce may be consumed by the raisers and their families:—secondly, on the impossibility of supplying, as we have supplied, all the countries of the civilized world (India perhaps and China excepted), and of underselling them even in their own market if our working manufacturers were not secured by the State against the worst consequences of those failures, stagnations, and transfers, to which the different branches of trade are exposed, in a greater or less degree, beyond all human prevention; or if the

master manufacturers were compelled to give previous security for the maintenance of those whom they had, by the known law of human increase, virtually called into existence.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not myself admit this impossibility. I have already denied, and I now repeat the denial, that these are necessary consequences of our extended commerce. On the contrary, I feel assured that the spirit of commerce is itself capable of being at once counteracted and enlightened by the spirit of the State, to the advantage of both. But I do assert, that they are necessary consequences of the commercial spirit un-counteracted and un-enlightened, wherever trade has been carried to so vast an extent as it has been in England. I assert too, that, historically and as matter of fact, they have been the consequence of our commercial system. The laws of Lycurgus, like those of the inspired Hebrew Legislator, were anti-commercial: those of Numa and Solon were at least uncommercial. Now I ask myself, what the impression would have been on the Senate of the Roman or the Athenian Republic, if the following proposal had been made to them and introduced by the following preamble. "Conscript Fathers, (or Senators of Athens!) it is well known to you, that circumstances being the same and the time allowed proportional, the human animal may be made to multiply as easily, and at as small an expence, as your sheep or swine: which is meant, perhaps, in the fiction of our philosophers, that

souls are out of all proportion more numerous than the bodies, in which they can subsist and be manifested. It is likewise known to you, Fathers! that though in various States various checks have been ordained to prevent this increase of births from becoming such as should frustrate or greatly endanger the ends for which freemen are born; yet the most efficient limit must be sought for in the moral and intellectual prerogatives of men, in their foresight, in their habituation to the comforts and decencies of society, in the pride of independence; but above all in the hope that enables men to withstand the tyranny of the present impulse, and in their expectation of honour or discredit from the rank, character, and condition of their children. Now there are proposed to us the speedy means of at once increasing the number of the rich, the wealth of those that are already such, and the revenues of the State: and the latter, Fathers! to so vast an amount, that we shall be able to pay not only our own soldiers but those of the monarchs whom we may thus induce to become our allies. But for this it will be requisite and indispensable that all men of enterprise and sufficiency among us should be permitted, without restraint, to encourage, and virtually to occasion, the birth of many myriads of free citizens, who from their childhood are to be amassed in clusters and employed as parts of a mighty system of machinery. While all things prove answerable to the schemes and wishes of these enterprisers, the citizens thus raised and thus employed by them will find an ample maintenance,

except in those instances where the individual may have rendered himself useless by the effects of his own vices. It must not, however, be disguised from you, that the nature of the employments and the circumstances to which these citizens will be exposed, will often greatly tend to render them intemperate, diseased, and restless. Nor has it been yet made a part of the proposal, that the employers should be under any bond to counteract such injurious circumstances by education, discipline, or other efficient regulations. Still less may it be withholden from your knowledge, O Fathers of the State, that should events hereafter prove hostile to all or to any branch of these speculations, to many or to any one of the number that shall have devoted their wealth to the realization of the same—and the light, in which alone they can thrive, is confessedly subject to partial and even to total eclipses, which there are no means of precisely foretelling—the guardian planets to whose conjunction their success is fatally linked, will at uncertain periods, for a longer or shorter time, act in malignant oppositions—then, Fathers, the principals are to shift for themselves, and leave the disposal of the calamitous, and therefore too probably turbulent, multitude, now unemployed and useless, to the mercy of the community, and the solicitude of the State ; or else to famine, violence, and the vengeance of the laws !”

If, on the maxims of ancient prudence, on the one hand not enlightened, on the other not dazzled, by the principles of trade, the immediate answer

would have been:—"We should deem it danger and detriment, were we to permit so indefinite and improvident increase even of our slaves and Helots: in the case of free citizens, our countrymen, who are to swear to the same laws, and worship at the same altars, it were profanation! May the Gods avert the omen!"—if this, I say, would have been their answer, it may be safely concluded that the connivance at the same scheme, much more that the direct encouragement of it, must be attributed to that spirit which the ancients did not recognize, namely, the spirit of commerce.

But I have shewn that the same system has gradually taken possession of our agriculture. What have been the results? For him who is either unable or unwilling to deduce the whole truth from the portion of it revealed in the following extract from Lord Winchelsea's Report, whatever I could have added would have been equally in vain. His Lordship speaking of the causes which oppose all attempts to better the labourers' condition, mentions, as one great cause, the dislike which the farmers in general have to seeing the labourers rent any land. Perhaps, (he continues) "one of the reasons for their disliking this is, that the land, if not occupied by the labourers, would fall to their own share; and another I am afraid is, that they rather wish to have the labourers more dependent upon them; for which reasons they are always desirous of hiring the house and land occupied by a labourer, under pretence, that by those means the landlord will be secure of his rent, and that they will keep

the house in repair. This the agents of estates are too apt to give into, as they find it much less trouble to meet six than sixty tenants at a rent-day, and by these means avoid the being sometimes obliged to hear the wants and complaints of the poor. All parties therefore join in persuading the landlord, who it is natural to suppose (unless he has time and inclination to investigate the matter very closely) will agree to this their plan, from the manner in which it comes recommended to him: and it is in this manner that the labourers have been dispossessed of their cow-pastures in various parts of the midland counties. The moment the farmer obtains his wish, he takes every particle of the land to himself, and re-lets the house to the labourer, who by these means is rendered miserable; the poor rate increased; the value of the estate to the landowner diminished; and the house suffered to go to decay; which once fallen the tenant will never rebuild, but the landlord must, at a considerable expence. Whoever travels through the midland counties, and will take the trouble of inquiring, will generally receive for answer, that formerly there were a great many cottagers who kept cows, but that the land is now thrown to the farmers; and if he inquires, still farther, he will find that in those parishes the poor rates have increased in an amazing degree, more than according to the average rise throughout England."—In confirmation of his Lordship's statement I find in the Agricultural Reports, that the county, in which I read of nothing but farms of 1000, 1500, 2000, and 2500 acres, is

likewise that in which the poor rates are most numerous, the distresses of the poor most grievous, and the prevalence of revolutionary principles the most alarming. But if we consider the subject on the largest scale and nationally, the consequences are, that the most important rounds in the social ladder are broken, and the hope which above all other things distinguishes the free man from the slave, is extinguished. The peasantry therefore are eager to have their children add as early as possible to their wretched pittances, by letting them out to manufactories; while the youths take every opportunity of escaping to towns and cities. And if I were questioned, as to my opinion, respecting the ultimate cause of our liability to distresses like the present, the cause of what has been called a vicious (that is excessive) population with all the furies that follow in its train—in short, of a state of things so remote from the simplicity of nature, that we have almost deprived Heaven itself of the power of blessing us; a state in which without absurdity, a superabundant harvest can be complained of as an evil, and the recurrence of the same a ruinous calamity,—I should not hesitate to answer—“the vast and disproportionate number of men who are to be fed from the produce of the fields, on which they do not labour.”

What then is the remedy;—who are the physicians? The reply may be anticipated. An evil which has come on gradually, and in the growth of which all men have more or less conspired, cannot be removed otherwise than gradually, and by the joint

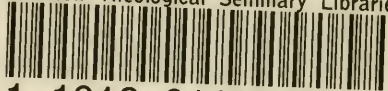
efforts of all. If we are a Christian nation, we must learn to act nationally as well as individually, as Christians. We must remove half truths, the most dangerous of errors, (as those of the poor visionaries called Spenceans), by the whole truth. The Government is employed already in retrenchments; but he who expects immediate relief from these, or who does not even know that if they do any thing at all, they must for the time tend to aggravate the distress, cannot have studied the operation of public expenditure.

I am persuaded that more good would be done, not only ultimate and permanent, but immediate, good, by the abolition of the lotteries accompanied by a public and Parliamentary declaration of the moral and religious grounds that had determined the Legislature to this act; of their humble confidence of the blessing of God on the measure; and of their hopes that this sacrifice to principle, as being more exemplary from the present pressure on the revenue of the State, would be the more effective in restoring confidence between man and man;—I am deeply convinced, that more sterling and visible benefits would be derived from this one solemn proof and pledge of moral fortitude and national faith, than from retrenchments to a tenfold greater amount. Still more, if our legislators should pledge themselves at the same time that they would hereafter take counsel for the gradual removal or counteraction of all similar encouragements and temptations to vice and folly, that had, alas! been tolerated hitherto, as the easiest way of supplying the ex-

chequer. And truly, the financial motives would be strong indeed, if the revenue laws in question were but half as productive of money to the state as they are of guilt and wretchedness to the people.

Our manufacturers must consent to regulations ; our gentry must concern themselves in the education as well as in the instruction of their natural clients and dependents, must regard their estates as secured indeed from all human interference by every principle of law, and policy, but yet as offices of trust, with duties to be performed, in the sight of God and their country. Let us become a better people, and the reform of all the public (real or supposed) grievances, which we use as pegs whereon to hang our own errors and defects, will follow of itself. In short, let every man measure his efforts by his power and his sphere of action, and do all he can do. Let him contribute money where he cannot act personally : but let him act personally and in detail wherever it is practicable. Let us palliate where we cannot cure, comfort where we cannot relieve : and for the rest rely upon the promise of the King of Kings by the mouth of his Prophet, *Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters.*

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